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YALE STUDIES IN THE HISTORY AND THEORY
OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

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I.

A History of Religious Education in Connecticut to the Middle of the Nineteenth Century

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THE HOLY [a] GOSPEL

of Iesus Christ, [b] according to Matthewe.

a This worde signifieth good tidinges, and is taken here for the storie which conteineth the ioyful message of the comming of the Sonne of God promised from the beginning.
b That is, written and taught by Matthewe.

THE ARGUMENT.

IN this historie written by Matthewe, Marke, Luke, and Iohn, the Spirit of God so gouerned their hearts, that although they were foure in nöber, yet in effect and purpose they so consent, as though the whole had bene composed by any one of them. And albeit in stile and maner of writing they be diuers, and sometime one writeth more largely that which the other doeth abbridge: neuertheles in matter and argument they all tende to one end: which is, to publish to the worlde the fauour of God towarde mankinde through Christ Iesus, whome the Father hathe giuen as a pledge of his mercie & loue. And for this cause they intitle their storie, Gospel, which signifieth good tidings, for asmuche as God hathe performed in dede that which the fathers hoped for. So that hereby we are admonished to forsake the worlde, and the vanities thereof, and with moste affectioned hearts embrace this incomparable treasure frely offred vnto vs: for there is no ioye nor consolacion, no peace nor quietnes, no felicitie nor saluacion, but in Iesus Christ, who is the very substance of this Gospel, and in whome all the promises are yea, and amen. And therefore vnder this worde is conteined the whole Newe testament: but communely we vse this name for the historie, which the foure Euangelists write, conteining Christs coming in the flesh, his death and resurrection, which is the perfite summe of our saluation. Matthewe, Marke, and Luke are more copious in describing his life and death: but Iohn more laboureth to set forthe his doctrine, wherein bothe Christs office, and also the vertue of his death and resurrection more fully appeare: for without this, to knowe that Christ was borne, dead & risen againe, shulde nothing profite vs. The which thing notwithstanding that the thre first touche partely, as he also sometime intermedleth the historical narration, yet Iohn chiefly is occupied herein. And therefore as a moste learned interpreter writeth, they describe, as it were, the bodie, and Iohn setteth before our eyes the soule. Wherefore the same aptely termeth the Gospel writ by Iohn, the keye which openeth the dore to the vnderstanding of the others: for whosoeuer doeth knowe the office, vertue and power of Christ, shal reade that which is written of the Sonne of God come to be the redemer of the worlde, with moste profit. Now as concerning the writers of this historie, it is euident that Matthewe was a Publicane or custome gatherer, and was thence chosen of Christ to be an Apostle. Marke is thoght to haue bene Peters disciple, and to haue planted the first Church at Alexandria, where he dyed the eight yere of the reigne of Nero. Luke was a phisition of Antiochia and became Pauls disciple, and fellowe in all his trauels: he liued foure score and foure yeres, and was buryed at Constantinople. Iohn was that Apostle whome the Lord loued, the sonne of Zebedeus, and brother of Iames: he dyed thre score yeres after Christ, and was buryed nere to the Citie of Ephesus.

g Rachab and Ruth, being Gentiles, signifie that Christ came not onely of ỹ Iewes, and for them, but also of ỹ Gentiles, and for their saluation.

CHAP. I.

1 *The genealogie of Christ, that is, the Messias promised to the fathers, 18 Who was conceiued by the holy Gost, and borne of the virgine Marie, when she was betrouthed vnto Ioseph. 20 The Angel satisfieth Iosephes minde. 21 Why he is called Iesus, and wherefore Emmanuel.*

Luk.3,23.
c This is the rehearsal of the progenie, whereof Iesus Christ is sprög according to the flesh.
d So called, for that he came of the stocke of Dauid.
e These two are first rehearsed, because Christ was especially promised to come of them and their sede, and therefore Christ communely was called the sonne of Dauid, becaus the promes was more euidently confirmed vnto him. *Gen.21,2. *Gen.25,24. *Gen.29,35. *Gen.38,27.
f By incestuous adulterie, the which shame setteth forthe his great humilitie, who made him self of no reputation, but beame a seruant for our sakes: yea, a worme and no man, the reproche of men, and contempt of the people, and at length suffred the accursed death of the crosse. *2.Chron.2,5. *ruth* 4,18.

1 THE *boke of the generacio of IESVS CHRIST the [d] sonne of [e] Dauid, the sonne of Abraham.
2 *Abrahā begate Isaac. *And Isaac begate Iacob. And *Iacob begate Iudas and his brethren.
3 *And Iudas begate Phares, and Zara [f] of Thamar. And *Phares begate Esrom. And Esrom begate Aram.
4 And Aram begate Aminadab. And Aminadab begate Naasson. And Naasson begate Salmon.
5 And Salmon begate Booz of [g] Rachab. And *Booz begate Obed of Ruth. And Obed begate Iesse.
6 And *Iesse begate Dauid the King. And *Dauid the King begate Solomon of her that was *the wife* of Vrias.
7 And *Solomon begate Roboam. And Roboam begate Abia. And Abia begate Asa.
8 And Asa begate Iosaphat. And Iosaphat begate Ioram. And Ioram begate Ozias.
9 And Ozias begate [h] Ioatham. And Ioatham begate Achaz. And Achaz begate Ezecias.
10 And *Ezecias begate Manasses. And Manasses begate Amon. And Amon begate Iosias.
11 And *Iosias begate Iacim. And Iacim begate Iechonias & his brethren about the time they were caryed away to Babylon.
12 And after they were caryed away into Babylon, *Iechonias begate [i] Salathiel. *And Salathiel begate Zorobabel,

Ruth 4,18.
1.Sam.16,1. & 17,12
2.Sam.12,24.
1.King.11,43
1.chro.3,10.
h He hathe omitted thre Kings, Ioas, Amasia, Azarias, abbridgig the nomber to make the times fourtene generations
2.King.20,21 & 21,18
1.chro 3,15.
2.King 23, 34.& 24,1
1.chro.36,4.
2.King.24,6.
2.chro.36,9
i After the captiuitie, the title royal was appointed vnto him: so that notwithstanding that they were as sclaues for the space of seuentie yeres, yet by the prouidence of God the gouernemēt remained in the familie of Dauid, where it continued t the coming of Christ. *1 *Chro* 3,17. *ezra* 3,2. & 5,2.

From the Gospel according to St. Matthew in the first folio edition of the *Geneva Bible*, printed in 1560. This work was published by English scholars in Switzerland who had been exiled or had fled because of persecution during the reign of Mary Tudor, and who remained in Geneva for several years in the congenial atmosphere of John Calvin and his school. Over sixty editions of this version were published. Archbishop Laud suppressed it in 1637, but not before it had served as the book of authority for the Puritan and the Separatist movements. The marginal notes were strongly anti-Anglican and were one of the chief reasons why King James wished a new translation. This reproduction is from the copy in the Yale University Library.

A History of Religious Education in Connecticut to the Middle of the Nineteenth Century

By George Stewart, Jr., Ph.D.

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To My Mother
Fanny Meade Stewart
This Book is Fondly Dedicated.

Introduction.

THE relations of religion and education have never been more in flux, perhaps, than at present; and the questions involved are among the major problems of our time. Policies of non-religious nationalism and of commercial utilitarianism in education seem no less hopeless than policies of religious sectarianism or a conservative credulity which denounces science and distrusts reason. There is room and urgent need in this field to seek anew the guidance of history, to call in question assumed principles, to experiment with methods and materials, and to attempt to rechart the mutual relations and responsibilities of the family, the church and the state.

The history of the relations of religion and education in Connecticut is of especial interest and value because it exhibits in bold relief factors and processes of development which have characterized American life generally. Connecticut supported an established Church until 1818, and religion dominated the early life of its schools. It was the first state to establish a permanent public school fund; and its system of common schools was for a time considered to be the best in the country. Immigration, first of dissenting Protestants, and later of adherents of the Roman Catholic faith, added new elements to the population, and has been largely responsible for the secularization of the public schools. Connecticut was the stronghold of the New England Theology, and the scene of its passing. It was the state, moreover, in which there lived and labored two men whose names have a permanent place in the history of education and of religion in America—Henry Barnard and Horace Bushnell.

The present essay is the first of a series of studies in the history and theory of religious education to be issued under the editorial direction of the Department of Religious Education

of the Divinity School and the Graduate School of Yale University. In its original form it was presented as a dissertation in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy; and it was awarded the John Addison Porter Prize in 1921. It received honorable mention for the Justin Winsor Prize of the American Historical Association in 1922.

L. A. W.
H. B. W.

Acknowledgment.

HISTORICAL research is the work of many men. The searcher for facts is under obligations, not only to those who inscribed the original records, but also to those who through the years have preserved and made these sources available.

I am especially indebted to the late Williston Walker, Titus Street Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Yale Divinity School, and Provost of Yale University, for a course on New England religious thought; and to the late Henry Burt Wright, Stephen Merrell Clement Professor of Christian Methods in Yale Divinity School, for encouragement and for many suggestions on form and treatment. To Luther Allan Weigle, Horace Bushnell Professor of Christian Nurture in Yale Divinity School, I owe the chief debt of thanks, not only for suggesting the subject, but for constant help at every stage of the preparation.

To Andrew Keogh, Librarian of Yale University, and to Miss Sarah Furnald, Miss Anne H. Pratt, Mrs. J. W. D. Ingersoll, Mr. Henry Gruener, and Mr. Henry Ginter, assistants in the Library, I am grateful. If it had not been for their cordial assistance, above and beyond the line of duty, my work could not have been done.

To Professor Irving Fisher, whose interest and aid have furthered the publication of this volume, I extend hearty thanks.

GEORGE STEWART, JR.

New York City, April 1, 1924.

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The present volume is the first work published by the Yale University Press on the Samuel B. Sneath Memorial Publication Fund. This Foundation was established on October 19, 1922, by a gift to the Divinity School of Yale University from Mrs. Laura S. Sneath, of Tiffin, Ohio, in memory of her husband, Samuel B. Sneath. He was born on December 19, 1828, in Tiffin, where he resided until his death on January 7, 1915. As merchant, manufacturer, banker, and organizer of public utilities he made, throughout a long and public-spirited life, a substantial contribution to the development of his native state.

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Part I.

The Period 1633-1712

I.

The Union of Church and State.

THE settlers of New England sought to establish theocratic governments. They conceived their settlements as states wherein the purposes of religion and of civil authority should be one. Clergyman and magistrate were to aid and support each other. Cotton Mather stated: "Those English colonies in America, which are distinguished by the name of New England, were formed upon the glorious design, of erecting churches, wherein the Reformation should be carried on, unto farther degrees of scriptural and primitive purity; than would be allowed by the times in Europe, not yet wholly recovered out of the Antichristian Apostacy. The planting of the churches, (which, having obtained help from God, continue unto this day) was one of the *Magnalia Christi,* in that age that has passed over us."[1] Trumbull, the Connecticut historian, asserted that, "The settlement of New England, purely for the purposes of religion and the propagation of civil and religious liberty, is an event which has no parallel in modern ages."[2]

The Relation of Church and State in the American Colonies.

The original settlers of all the American colonies possessed the Old World idea that there was necessarily a vital connection between church and state. The theory of the several colonies regarding the function of civil authority in spiritual affairs was modified so gradually, with the single exception of the protest made by Roger Williams in the founding of Rhode

[1] Mather, Cotton: *Ratio Disciplinae,* 1726, p. 1.
[2] Trumbull, Benjamin: *History of Conn.,* 1818, I, p. 17.

Island, that little attention was drawn to it in the first century and a half of settlement. Religious freedom was slowly achieved in all the colonies as a result of many factors working together. Among these factors were impatience with old restrictions which existed in people who were bent on creating a new society in a new land; the character of the early pioneers, who were in general of the bolder and more adventurous class, dissatisfied with conditions at home; the increased interest in the affairs of government which the colonists showed under new conditions of greater political liberty; the unjust severity with which the civil power handled religious questions on many occasions, giving rise to resentment and dissent; and the coming in of various sects, which tended to destroy the religious homogeneity of the colonies. Added to these causes, there was much religious indifference from almost the very beginning of the settlement.

In regard to their attitude toward the union of church and state the colonies fall roughly into four groups. In the first group may be placed Virginia and the Carolinas. The Church of England was established in the charter of these colonies and was also formally established by the colonial legislatures. This establishment continued until the Revolutionary War. In Virginia there were occasional outbursts of intolerance and persecution directed toward dissenters or newcomers of other sects. In the Carolinas a larger measure of toleration existed and greater religious liberties were extended to emigrants who could not conform to the liturgy, forms, and ceremonies of the Church of England. It should be noted that the Virginia and Carolina type of church theory differed from the New England type in that in the former the establishment was imposed upon the colony by the home government without the counsel of the people, although it was later ratified by them. In New England the church was a creation of the people themselves and the union of church and state was far closer.

The second group contains New York, New Jersey, Maryland, and Georgia, in each of which a change of policy occurred. In New York and New Jersey the English governors attempted to establish the Church of England where the Dutch Reformed Church had taken root. This they never succeeded in fully accomplishing, and never secured a legal enactment to that effect. Maryland, a Roman Catholic colony, began with religious liberty, but afterward established the Church of England. In Georgia, which began by maintaining religious freedom, the Church of England was established by legislative enactment and by a royal edict a few years before the Revolution.

The third group embraces Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, and Delaware. The latter colony was so long a part of Pennsylvania that its history on the question is one with the history of Pennsylvania. In this group of colonies there was no established church, and there were definite pronouncements against any union of the spiritual and temporal powers. Rhode Island was the broadest of all in declaring the principles of religious freedom. From the beginning, Rhode Island repudiated the theory of an established church, and in this it was unique among the New England colonies. The Pennsylvania Quakers, although they contended for liberty of conscience, nevertheless withheld civic powers and privileges from infidels.

The fourth group is comprised of all the New England colonies with the exception of Rhode Island, including Plymouth, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Haven, and Connecticut, in all of which the Congregational form of worship and church government was established. Among these colonies it may be noted that Massachusetts and New Haven were the strictest in their religious requirements, and Plymouth and Connecticut were more liberal in their attitude toward dissenters or members of other sects. New Hampshire was settled very largely by exiles from Massachusetts, who were later joined by others numerous enough to form an Agreement in 1638, which served

as the fundamental articles of government.[3] The franchise was open to every respectable man, regardless of church membership, although legislation regarding tithes really amounted to church establishment. In 1641 New Hampshire united with Massachusetts, with the concession that suffrage in New Hampshire should not be limited to church members.

The settlement of Plymouth Plantation was the migration of a church already organized, the Church of England Separatists of Leyden. The pure democracy which they set up under the Mayflower compact did not make church membership a condition of precedent for the franchise. Miles Standish did not belong to the church at Plymouth, although he was a very prominent citizen. The Pilgrims had probably learned a lesson in toleration from the Dutch, in whose confines they had been residing. They remained for many years an almost homogeneous group, comparatively free from the inroads of dissenters and other sects which furnished provocation for harsh and intolerant restrictions in the neighboring colony of Massachusetts, which received the bulk of immigration. The number of freemen in Plymouth Plantation was extended from time to time by action of the General Court, and confined to those who took the oath of fidelity and who covenanted to submit faithfully to the "good and wholesome laws and ordinances" of the plantation. The coming in of other sects caused a restrictive measure to be passed in 1658, to the effect that all who refused to take the oath of fidelity, such as Quakers, or those who were manifest encouragers of such, should have no voice in the choice of public officers. "No Quaker, Rantor or any such corrupt person shall be admitted as freemen of this corporation." The Court further ordered that "all such as are opposers of the good and wholesome laws of this Colony or manifest opposers of the true worship of God" should be dis-

[3] Barstow, George: *Hist. of New Hampshire,* pp. 40–53.

qualified as freemen.[4] Compared with the other New England colonies, Plymouth passed very little legislation regarding matters of religion.

Massachusetts Bay Colony had a very different history in regard to religious toleration from Plymouth. Nothing was said in the charter about ecclesiastical affairs. The Puritans, unlike the Pilgrims, did not come over as an already organized church. They considered themselves members of the Church of England, and took the general Puritan position approving its creed, professing that they only desired to reform certain errors within the church. When the Puritans did organize into a local church body, shortly after their arrival, they appear to have assumed the attitude of independence which the Pilgrims held toward the home church.[5] This change of front was not as radical as it might seem, for two of the ministers who came to Salem in 1629, Mr. Skelton and Mr. Higginson, were nonconformists who had suffered a great deal for their views at home.[6] Although the Puritans were jealous of their religious liberty, and would have objected strenuously if the Church of England had been forced upon them, they nevertheless refused to grant religious liberty to dissenters or persons of other sects residing among them.

The aim of Massachusetts Bay Colony was distinctly religious. The Company which sent Endicott out instructed him that: "The propagating of the Gospel is the thing we do profess above all to be our aim in settling this Plantation, we have been careful to make plentiful provision of godly ministers; by whose faithful preaching, godly conversation, and exemplary life, we trust not only those of our own nation will be built up

[4] *Ply. Col. Rec.*, XI, 1623-1682, p. 177; Bayliss, Francis: *An Historical Memoir of the Colony of New Plymouth* (ed. 1886), pp. 229-230; Noble, F. A.: *The Pilgrims*, p. 375.

[5] Adams, J. T.: *The Founding of New England*, p. 117.

[6] Morton, Nathaniel: *New England's Memorial* (ed. John Davis, 1826), p. 145.

in the knowledge of God, but also the Indians may, in God's appointed time, be reduced to the obedience of the Gospel of Christ."[7] Upon organizing their first church at Salem, the Puritans took care that the civil authority should have power in church matters. "Because," writes Morton, "they foresaw this wilderness might be looked upon as a place of liberty, and, therefore, might in time be troubled with erroneous spirits, therefore they put in one article into the confession of faith, on purpose, about the duty and power of the magistrate in matters of religion."[8] The first General Court, which met on May 18, 1631, confined the franchise exclusively to church members.[9] Lechford, in his *Plaine Dealing or Newes from New England,* remarked, under the apt sub-title, *Ecclesia Regnans,* "no one may now be a Freeman of that Commonwealth, being a Society or Corporation, named by the name of the Governor, Deputy Governor, and Assistants of the Society of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, unless he be a church member amongst them."[10] Massachusetts from the beginning was intolerant of dissenters and of those of other sects. Its legislation on religious matters was characterized by restrictive and inquisitorial features.

The Qualifications of Freemen in New Haven and Connecticut Colonies.

Connecticut and New Haven colonies copied in a large measure the laws of Massachusetts Bay and of Plymouth Plantation. Nearly all the original settlers of the two former

[7] Young, Alexander: *Chronicles of the First Planters of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay,* p. 142.

[8] Morton, Nathaniel: *New England's Memorial* (ed. John Davis, 1826), pp. 145-146.

[9] *Rec. Mass. Bay,* 1628-1641, p. 87; Winthrop, John: *History of New England* (ed. Savage, 1825), II, p. 171.

[10] Lechford, Thomas: *Plaine Dealing* (ed. Trumbull, 1867), p. 58; see also p. 29.

colonies had spent some time in the older plantations and naturally adopted many of their customs and legal precedents.

In New Haven colony, settled in April, 1638, the theocratic tendency was stronger than in any other of the New England colonies. Soon after the arrival of Davenport and his company in April, 1638, upon a day appointed as a day of "extraordinary humiliation," the planters covenanted to be ordered by "those rules which the scripture holds forth to us."[11] The whole life of the people was to be an expression of the divine law. Cobb states that "never, not even among the Puritans of Massachusetts, was made another so religious foundation."[12]

At an assembly on June 4, 1639, Davenport propounded various queries regarding the future government of the colony, the first one of which was, "Whether the Scriptures do hold forth a perfect rule for the direction and government of all men in all duties which they are to perform to God and men as well in the government of families and commonwealths as in matters of the church."[13] This was answered by all in the affirmative. They then renewed their pledges of the previous year, to be governed by the Scriptures in church matters and in the "choice of magistrates and officers, making and repealing of laws, dividing allotments of inheritance and all things of like nature." Other queries, similar to the above, were put and answers taken. Davenport expounded to them from the Scripture what sort of persons could be entrusted with the affairs of government and proved that men such as are described in Exodus 18:2, Deuteronomy 1:13, with Deuteronomy 17:15 and I Corinthians 6:1-7, should be charged with such functions, inasmuch as they were free to form a commonwealth which appeared best in securing the pure and peaceable enjoyment

[11] *N. H. Col. Rec.*, 1638-1649, p. 12. The *Colonial Records* have no minutes of this first meeting, but it is referred to in the minutes of June 4 of the following year, 1639.

[12] Cobb, S. H.: *The Rise of Religious Liberty in America*, p. 281.

[13] *N. H. Col. Rec.*, 1638-1649, p. 12.

of Christ's ordinances. He then propounded Query 5, "Whether Free Burgesses shall be chosen out of church members they that are in the foundation work of the church being actually free burgesses, and to choose to themselves out of the like estate of church fellowship and the power of choosing magistrates and officers from among themselves and the power of making and repealing laws according to the word, and the dividing of inheritances and deciding of differences that may arise, and all the businesses of like nature are to be transacted by those free burgesses."[14] This was agreed to by lifting up the hands twice in the same manner as the other matters were voted upon, with one person dissenting.

The sixth query Davenport put was, whether the assembly agreed "that twelve men be chosen that their fitness for the foundation work may be tried, however there may be more named, yet it may be in their power who are chosen to reduce them to twelve, and it be in the power of those twelve to choose out of themselves seven that shall be most approved of the major part to begin the church." This was agreed upon by all holding up their hands.[15]

Milford and New Haven churches were formed upon the same plan and apparently at the same time, namely, the twenty-second of August, 1639.[16] A church was gathered at Guilford on the "nineteenth day of the fourth month 1643." According to a manuscript copy of the town records, the four men who had before exercised the power of civil government, "having resigned up their trust and power to the intent that all power and authority might be rightly settled within the church as most safe and suitable for securing those main ends which we propounded to ourselves in our coming hither and settling down

[14] *N. H. Col. Rec.*, 1638-1649, pp. 13, 14.
[15] *Ibid.*, 1638-1649, pp. 15, 16.
[16] Trumbull, Benjamin: *Hist. of Conn.*, 1797, I, p. 298.

together, namely, that we might settle and uphold all the ordinances of God in an explicit and Congregational Church way." Only church members were to be freemen.[17]

A Court which met at New Haven on October 25, 1639, "being settled according to the fundamental agreement made the 4th day of June, 1639," consisted of the original seven church members. Upon meeting, the Court immediately enacted that, "All former power or trust for managing any public affairs in this plantation, into whose hands soever formerly committed, was now abrogated and from henceforward utterly to cease."[18] The same meeting of the Court ordered, "all those that have been received into the fellowship of this church since the gathering of it, or who being members of other approved church as offered themselves, were admitted as members of this court. Namely, Mr. Nathaniel Turner, Will Andrews, and Mr. Cheevers, members of this church, Mr. Sam. Eaton, John Clark, Lieutenant Seely John Chapman, Thomas Jeffreys and Rich. Hull, members of other approved churches."[19] Thus it was that in New Haven on October 25, 1639, there were only sixteen voters among the one hundred and forty-four planters in the colony.[20] Later, when Milford was admitted into union with New Haven and other towns of the colony in October, 1643, the non-church-members to whom Milford had allowed the ballot were denied the right to vote in matters which concerned the whole colony.[21] In the same year, John Davenport in publishing his views of civil government asserted: "Civil government is for the common welfare of all, as well in the Church as without: which will then be most certainly affected, when public trust and

[17] MSS. records of the town of Guilford, copied by Ralph D. Smith of Guilford, Conn. State Library, pp. 8-9.
[18] *N. H. Col. Rec.*, 1638-1649, p. 20.
[19] *Ibid.*, p. 20.
[20] *Ibid.*, p. 20.
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 110; also, p. 112.

power of these matters is committed to such men as are most approved according to God; and these are church members."[22]

It should be noted that in spite of this interpenetration of church and state in New Haven, the voter employed his civil power and privilege as a member of the town or General Court which had legislative and judicial powers, and not as a member of the church acting as an ecclesiastical or spiritual body.[23] It is difficult, however, to draw the line between church and state in a commonwealth wherein the founders themselves could hardly be said to distinguish between the two. The plantations or towns held all necessary powers, granted them by the General Court, to provide for the preaching of the gospel and to administer ordinary church matters. In some towns, until after the Revolution there were no records other than those kept for the church.[24] The organization of the town and of the church was in most cases identical.

The restriction of the franchise in New Haven to church members continued as long as New Haven remained a separate colony. It passed away upon the union of New Haven with Connecticut Colony in 1665, at which time the laws of Connecticut abrogated those of New Haven.

Connecticut Colony was founded as a protest against the rigidity and intolerance of Massachusetts.[25] Families migrated overland from around Massachusetts Bay and settled Windsor in 1633, Wethersfield in 1634, and Hartford in 1635. These settlements, feeling the need for organized government to administer common problems, united to form Connecticut Colony in 1639. In the beginning, all the original inhabitants were considered freemen and met together for the purpose of enacting

[22] Davenport, John: *Discourse about Civil Government in a New Plantation whose design is Religion.* London, 1643, p. 12.

[23] Walker, Williston: *Hist. of the Congregational Churches in the U. S.,* pp. 123-124.

[24] Orcutt, Samuel: *History of the Old Town of Derby,* p. 46.

[25] Palfrey, J. G.: *Hist. of New England,* I, pp. 448-451 and notes.

necessary legislation and to draw up a constitution. The founders stated that they were entering into a combination to "maintain and preserve the liberty and purity of the gospel of our Lord Jesus which we now profess, as also the discipline of the Churches, which according to the truth of the said gospel is now practiced amongst us."[26] A small group such as followed Davenport could more easily adopt exclusive qualifications for freemen than more scattered groups arriving at various times and later uniting for purposes of civil government and protection. By the Fundamental Orders—otherwise known as the Constitution of 1639—freemen were those who had taken the oath of fidelity and were admitted inhabitants. These only were allowed to choose deputies.[27] On November 10, 1643, because of the increase in population, the Court, with an eye to safeguarding the franchise, declared their judgment to be, "that such only shall be counted admitted inhabitants, who were admitted by a general vote of the major part of the Town that receiveth them."[28] Such applicants as each town deemed proper persons to exercise the franchise were admitted by vote.[29]

Connecticut Colony never required church membership as a qualification for the franchise. Thomas Hooker, the outstanding leader in the early years of Connecticut, disliked very much the restriction of suffrage in Massachusetts to church membership, and the spirit of intolerance toward any difference of opinion. He objected to the theocratic idea of government and held that, "in matters which concern the common good, a general council, chosen by all, to transact businesses which concern all, I conceive most suitable to rule and most safe for relief of

[26] *Conn. Rec.*, I, 1636-1665, p. 21.
[27] *Ibid.*, pp. 21, 23.
[28] *Ibid.*, p. 96.
[29] Andrews, Chas. M.: *The River Towns of Conn.*, J. H. Univ. Studies, 1889, pp. 82-83.

the whole."[30] To Hooker belongs the credit of being the first leader in New England to uphold the theory of a pure democracy. The attitude of the Connecticut legislature was similar to that of the Bay Colony on the question of establishment, but resembled that of Rhode Island on the matter of theocratic government. Although never requiring church membership as a qualification for the franchise, Connecticut settlers insisted that the civil authority should care for ecclesiastical affairs. Church membership was required in the single exception of the office of governor, where it was made a necessary qualification. The Connecticut Court declared its theory of citizenship as apart from church membership when it enacted in the Code of 1650, "nor shall any church censure degrade or depose any man from any civil dignity, office or authority he shall have in the Commonwealth."[31]

The General Court in 1657, becoming disturbed regarding the entrance of Quakers and others—a circumstance which would menace the religious homogeneity of the colony, were they allowed equal civic privileges with the older orthodox inhabitants—passed a law in August of that year to the effect that, "This Court being duly sensible of the danger this Commonwealth is in of being poisoned in their judgment and principles by some loathsome heretics, whether Quakers, Ranters, Adamites or some others like them, it is ordered and decreed, that no town or person therein, within this Jurisdiction, shall give any unnecessary entertainment to any of the aforesaid known heretics, upon penalty of five pounds for each heretic entertained."[32]

No description of church polity was made by those who framed the laws of Connecticut Colony. They appear to have assumed that their churches should take the form of worship

[30] Quoted in Fiske, John: *Beginnings of New England,* p. 124.
[31] Code of 1650, printed in *Conn. Rec.,* I, 1636-1665, p. 525.
[32] *Conn. Rec.,* I, 1636-1665, p. 303.

and government which prevailed in Massachusetts Bay. Some who had left Watertown had even brought letters of dismission to the church which was to be established upon the Connecticut River.[33] The men of Connecticut before 1639 looked upon Massachusetts Bay as their civil authority, having made their departure from Massachusetts without opposition, and that colony regarded the Connecticut River settlements as an expansion of their jurisdiction. Under such circumstances, it was quite natural for the inhabitants of the river towns to adopt the form of church polity with which they had become acquainted in Massachusetts.

The colonial legislature provided for the support of the ministry and exercised direction over all church matters throughout the commonwealth. This legislation was characterized by a genuine spirit of devotion upon the part of the lawmakers and by a general absence of cruel and oppressive enactments against other sects, despite the anti-Quaker laws. At no time was Connecticut disturbed by such harsh measures as Massachusetts used against Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson. The witchcraft delusion never assumed the proportions in Connecticut which it attained in Massachusetts; nevertheless, there were at least thirteen trials and three executions which are reported.[34]

The General Court exercised the functions of modern high ecclesiastical assemblies or courts or conventions. "The Assembly was not often arbitrary, and did not use more than a fraction of its power. Without taking sides, it acted the part of a pacificator . . . but was ever ready to arrest by its authority any revolutionary or erratic movement, destructive of the purity of the gospel or the welfare of the Churches."[35]

[33] *Conn. Rec.*, I, 1636-1665, p. 2.

[34] See Orcutt, Rev. Samuel: *A History of the Old Town of Stratford and the City of Bridgeport, Connecticut*, Vol. I, pp. 145-157, especially page 156. See also *Conn. Rec.*, I, 1636-1665, pp. 171, 338, 573; *New Haven Col. Rec.*, II, 1653-1664, pp. 29, 80-89, 151, 224.

[35] Bronson, Henry: in *New Haven Hist. Papers*, III, p. 373.

The Support of the Ministry.

Both Connecticut and New Haven colonies enacted provisions for the support of the ministry. The Commissioners of the United Colonies, as the officials of the union formed in 1643 of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven were styled, suggested to the colonies under date of September 5, 1644, that every man should set down voluntarily what he was willing to give for ministerial support. If any man should refuse to pay, he was to be rated by the authorities, who should exercise the same procedure to force payment as for other debts. This was really a tax, although it retained an appearance of being voluntary.[36] Connecticut, on October 24, 1644, enacted that: "It is agreed that the propositions concerning the maintenance of ministers, made by the Commissioners of the United Colonies, shall stand as an Order for this jurisdiction, to be executed accordingly where shall be cause."[37] By the year 1646, Guilford and most of the towns were supporting their ministers by rates upon the inhabitants.[38] The Connecticut Code of 1650 required all to contribute to the support of the church, as well as to the support of the commonwealth. Taxes or rates for the support of the ministry were to be made and collected in the same manner as rates for the towns.[39]

New Haven, which in November, 1639, had ordered a rate of thirty shillings in every hundred pounds for the erection of a meeting house to cost five hundred pounds, was not unmindful of her minister, John Davenport.[40] At a meeting held on

[36] *Conn. Rec.*, I, 1636-1665, p. 112, footnote.

[37] *Ibid.*, pp. 111-112.

[38] MSS. records of the Town of Guilford, copied by Ralph D. Smith of Guilford, Conn. State Library, p. 40, date of May 28, 1646.

[39] *Conn. Rec.*, I, 1636-1665, p. 545. Conn. Code of 1650, section entitled "Minister's Maintenance." See also Cambridge Platform, Ch. XI, for an expression of the theory and practice of the day, printed in Walker, Williston, *The Creeds and Platforms of Congregationalism.*

[40] *N. H. Col. Rec.*, 1638-1649, p. 25.

The ſtate of Chriſtians. The ſtate of Heathen.

Chriſtians. Their knowledge. The Godhead.

1 WHerefore are we called the people of God and Chriſtians?

Becauſe that by a willing Couenaunt made with our God, we are vnder the gouernement of God and Chriſte, and thereby do leade a godly and chriſtian life.

2 Howe ſhould we leade a godlie and Chriſtian life?

By knowing God & the ducties of godlines: and by keeping thoſe ducties.

3 What beleefe and knowledge of God muſt we haue?

We muſt knowe the Godhead: and the all ſufficiencie of moſte bleſſed ſtate thereof.

4 What knowledge of the Godhead muſte we haue?

We muſt know our God to be one God.
To be three perſons.
To be of an vnſearcheable nature.

5 Howe is GOD knowne to be one?

The three perſones are but one liuing ſpirite.

They haue one and the ſame nature.

They haue no partes nor vnlikenes of partes.

Heathen. Their ignorance. Falſe Gods.

1 WHerefore are the Heathen forſaken of God, and be the curſed people of the worlde?

Becauſe they forſake or refuſe the Lords couenaunt and gouernement: and therefore they leade an vngodly and worldly life.

2 Howe do the Heathen leade an vngodlie and worldlie life?

By ignorance of God, and deceyuing them ſelues: and by ſinning and faulting to their owne deſtruction.

3 Howe are the Heathen deceyued & ignorant of God?

They take thoſe for gods whiche are no gods, and they put bleſſedneſſe in them which vaniſhe in them ſelues, & haue their wantes and harmes.

4 Howe doe the Heathen miſtake the Godhead?

They beleue that there ar many gods.
They make them as dreames and imaginations.
They will needes ſearche out their natures and diſpute thereof.

5 Howe doe the Heathen make them ſelues manie Goddes?

They make ſuch thinges to be gods, which they haue handled or taſted, or ſeene with their eyes.
They haue chaunged their gods, and taken newe vnto them being wearie of the olde.
They make them contrarie and vnlike to themſelues, and of ſundrie natures

From Robert Browne's *A Booke which sheweth the life and manners of all true Christians, and howe unlike they are unto Turkes and Papistes, and Heathen folke. Also the pointes and partes of all divinitie, that is of the revealed will and worde of God, are declared by their severall Definitions, and Divisions in order as followeth.* This volume was printed for Richarde Painter in Middleburgh in 1582 and is one of the important early statements of the Puritan position.

"the 23 of the 8 m. 1640" the Court enacted: "It is ordered that our pastor shall have his farm where he shall desire it with all the conveniences of upland and meadow and creeks which the place where he pitches will afford, though above his proportion, according to his desire."[41] Later, in 1645, upon the motion of a Mr. Malbon that the pastor's lot might be fenced at a common charge, the idea was generally approved. The Governor desired all those that could and were willing to help, to repair to Mr. Malbon, who would direct the work.[42] The New Haven Code of 1655 provided, in order "that the ordinances of Christ may be upheld and comfortable provision made and continued for a due maintenance of the ministry according to the rule, I Cor. 9.6 to 12," that whenever there should be cause, either through the perverseness or negligence of the people, the deputies with the constable should summon the inhabitants and have them state the amounts they would donate toward ministerial support. If there was refusal or delay, or a sum which the authorities deemed too meagre, they were empowered to assess and collect a proper sum.[43] The records of subsequent years bear testimony to cases of legal action for money due from inhabitants for ministerial support. It would be difficult, even in theory, to maintain that the churches were kept up by voluntary subscriptions, for the state stood ready to collect enforced offerings. The practice of levying rates for the support of meetinghouse and clergy grew to be universal in Connecticut and was the accepted means of raising church revenues until 1818.

The Committee of Trade and Foreign Plantations, a committee of the Privy Council, inquired of the New England colonies in 1679, how ministers were maintained. The General Court of Connecticut made answer in 1680: "For the main-

[41] *N. H. Col. Rec.*, 1638-1649, p. 42.

[42] *Ibid.*, p. 183.

[43] *New Haven's Settling in New England and Some Lawes for Government*, 1656; section on Ecclesiastical Provisions. *N. H. Coll. Rec.*, 1653-1664, p. 588.

tenance of ministers, it is raised upon the people by way of rate, and it is in some places 100 pounds per annum, some 90 pounds, some 80 pounds, some 60; but in no place less than 50 pounds per annum, as we know of; and so the proportion raised is according as the occasion of the minister calls for it and the people's ability will allow."[44]

All semblance of purely voluntary support had vanished in Connecticut by 1697. The General Court, in May of that year, enacted that money for ministerial support should be raised by a levy and assessment upon the several inhabitants of the towns and plantations, according to their estates as they should appear in the general list. Collection was to be made by those whom the towns should appoint.[45] A further provision was made in 1699 to the effect "that all agreements respecting the maintenance and settlement of such minister made by the major part of the householders of such town, plantation or society as aforesaid shall be binding and obliging to the whole, and all of such town, plantation or society."[46] In the same year the General Court, "from their peculiar regard unto, and for the encouragement of the several ministers of the gospel," enacted that their estates should be exempted from paying rates.[47]

The procedure was not uniform, but it is evident that the civil magistrates took pains that the church should not suffer for want of support. Thomas Lechford, an English lawyer of Boston who returned to England in 1641, stated: "But in Salem Church, those only that are of the Church offer in public; the rest are required to give to the ministry, by collection, at their houses. At some other places they make a rate upon every man, as well within, as not of the church, residing with them, towards the Churches occasions; and others are behold-

[44] *Conn. Rec.*, III, 1678-1689, Appendix XXX, p. 300.
[45] *Ibid.*, IV, 1689-1706, pp. 198-199.
[46] *Ibid.*, p. 316.
[47] *Ibid.*, p. 287.

ing, now and then, to the General Court, to study ways to enforce the maintenance of the ministry."[48] In 1681, the Connecticut General Court granted two hundred acres of land to Isaac Foster, pastor of the First Church of Hartford, by way of maintenance, a procedure which grew to be quite customary.[49] The town of Enfield, on December 16 of the same year, voted that "there shall be reserved in the middle of the town, six house lots of twelve rods broad apiece, or thereabouts, as shall be thought convenient; one of them for the minister, his property; the second for the Ministry; a third for a school and the maintenance thereof forever, according as was formerly provided." Again on "Feb. 15, 1683. Agreed and ordered, that all persons having grants of land, shall pay such rates as are for a general and standing use and benefit of the town, viz., a Minister's House, Meetinghouse, School-house," etc.[50] At a town meeting in Hartford, in December, 1683-1684, the town enacted by unanimous vote that a parcel of land "in the south meadow" be measured by the town measurers and equally divided between the first and second churches of Hartford toward the maintenance of the ministry.[51] Throughout the seventeenth century, the support of the ministry was safeguarded by the General Court.[52]

In May, 1708, the General Court gave permission for the

[48] Lechford, Thomas: *Plaine Dealing* (ed. Trumbull), 1867, p. 50; the same in *Coll. of Mass. Hist. Soc.*, Third Series, III, p. 78.

[49] *Conn. Rec.*, III, 1678-1689, pp. 92-93 and footnote.

[50] Extracts from town records of Enfield printed in the Report of the School Visitors of the School Society of Enfield, in Appendix of *Ann. Rep. Supt. Com. Sch. of Conn.*, 1850, p. 65.

[51] *Hartford Town Votes*, p. 177; the same in *Coll. of Conn. Hist. Soc.*, VI, p. 212.

[52] Laws for the benefit of the clergy were ordered prepared in May, 1690 (*Conn. Rec.*, IV, 1689-1706, p. 28), and in May, 1697 (*ibid.*, IV, 1689-1706, p. 209). Provisions for ministerial support were passed in October, 1676 (*ibid.*, II, 1665-1677, p. 290), in May, 1697 (*ibid.*, IV, 1689-1706, p. 198), in October, 1698 (*ibid.*, IV, 1689-1706, p. 267), in May, 1699 (*ibid.*, IV, 1689-1706, p. 287), and in October, 1699 (*ibid.*, IV, 1689-1706, p. 316). These instances are cited as typical. The records contain many similar references.

ministers' salaries to be added to the rates upon application of the minister to the colony treasurer.[53] Two years later, in October, 1710, the Court stipulated for the year ensuing the price of grain and provisions at which rates for ministers, for the towns, and for the schools, should be paid.[54]

Inasmuch as the population of Connecticut and New Haven colonies was homogeneous in race, nationality, language, and religion, it was natural that the General Court should legislate in regard to ministerial support and church matters. Religious interests were held as much in common by the group as were economic or political interests. The General Court held law-making function for both church and state. "It was more than Pope, or Pope and College of Cardinals, for it exercised all authority, civil and ecclesiastical. In matters of discipline, faith and practice, there was no appeal from its decisions. Except the right to be protected in their orthodoxy, the churches had no privileges which the Court did not confer, or could not take away."[55]

The Care of the Churches.

The "purity of the gospel" and the "discipline of the churches" were difficult matters to "maintain and preserve." One of the earliest instances of the action of the civil authority in church matters occurred in 1644. One Matthew Allen had been excommunicated from the church at Hartford. The Court ordered Allen to present particulars on his part and the church to make answer.[56] The order to Allen was repeated on October 25 of the same year.[57] The outcome of the case is not given.

The very independence of the New England churches brought about the necessity for a common understanding or platform.

[53] *Conn. Rec.*, V, 1706-1716, p. 50.
[54] *Ibid.*, p. 186.
[55] Bronson, Henry: "Early Government in Conn.," in *N. H. Hist. Soc. Papers*, 1882, III, p. 347.
[56] *Conn. Rec.*, I, 1636-1665, p. 106.
[57] *Ibid.*, p. 111.

Differences in practice were inevitable. Inasmuch as at least two of the colonies, Massachusetts Bay and New Haven, required church membership for citizenship, problems connected with church membership were of political importance. By 1650, in Connecticut, church attendance was compulsory upon the Sabbath and upon all days of public fasting and prayer and days of thanksgiving appointed by civil authority, on penalty of a fine of five shillings for every instance of neglect.[58] New Haven had a like provision by 1655.[59]

Although all were compelled to attend church, not all could qualify for church membership. The churches insisted upon "relations" or public confession of the candidate's spiritual experience and his knowledge of the principles of religion.[60] Many who were eager to sign the covenant and become full members, qualified to take communion, were unable to give such accounts. The New England churches, moreover, were very severe against all members of the English established church and refused to acknowledge the validity of letters from independent churches in England, if the discipline of those churches varied from their own. Such matters caused unrest and dissatisfaction among many of Congregational descent, as well as among those who had no such connections.

In Massachusetts, many were displeased with the limitation of the franchise to church members. A movement was started by William Vassall of Plymouth, and Robert Child and others of Massachusetts, in 1645 and 1646, wherein they petitioned the courts of Massachusetts and Plymouth for the rights they possessed in England. Fearing external interference and urged by some Massachusetts ministers, the General Court of Massachusetts, on May 15, 1646, requested the churches of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven to send their

[58] *Conn. Rec.*, I, 1636-1665, p. 524. See also Trumbull, *Hist. of Conn.*, I, p. 289.

[59] *New Haven's Settling in New England and Some Lawes for Government. N. H. Col. Rec.*, 1653-1664, p. 588.

[60] Cotton, John: *The Way of the Churches.* London, 1645, p. 54.

elders and messengers to an assembly "to discuss, dispute, and clear up, by the word of God, such questions of church government and discipline . . . as they shall think needful and meet."[61] The assembly finally gathered on August 15, 1648, after two previous attempts in 1646 and 1647, which had been adjourned due to scarcity of numbers in the former year and to an epidemic in the latter.

Although the chief questions propounded by the General Court in calling the Synod dealt with qualifications for baptism and church membership, these matters were destined to receive little attention. Political affairs in England now favored the polity of the New England churches in that the Independents had come into power during the summer of 1647, a triumph which was completed by the defeat of the Presbyterians by Cromwell at Preston on August 17, 1648. The arrival of ships in Boston in May, 1648, bringing news of the Independents' rise to power caused a change in the procedure of the Synod which met the following August.[62] Questions relating to qualifications for baptism and for church membership were not now immediately pressing, due to the defeat of the party to which Vassall and his fellow petitioners belonged. The Synod thereupon proceeded to consider other matters of church doctrine and polity and drafted what was in effect a constitution for the churches.

The document which the delegates formulated came to be known as the "Cambridge Platform." It accepted "for the substance thereof" the Westminster Confession of Faith which had been passed in the previous year by the Westminster Assembly. This platform elucidated New England Congregational polity and defended the orthodoxy of the New England churches.[63]

[61] *Mass. Col. Rec.*, II, p. 154.
[62] Walker, W.: *The Creeds and Platforms of Congregationalism*, pp. 180-181.
[63] The English Independency had been putting questions on usage and

The power of civil magistrates to call a Synod was directly acknowledged in the platform itself: "Magistrates have power to call a Synod by calling to the Churches to send forth their Elders and other messengers to counsel and assist them in matters of religion; but yet the constituting of a Synod, is a church act, and may be transacted by the churches even when civil magistrates may be enemies to churches and to church assemblies."[64] Chapter seventeen of the Cambridge Platform, "Of the Civil Magistrate's power in Matters Ecclesiastical,"

discipline to the New England churches prior to the Cambridge Synod. This interchange of query and answer during the years 1636 to 1639 is largely covered in the volumes entitled *Letters of many ministers in Old England, requesting the judgment of their revered brethren in New England concerning nine positions*, printed in 1643. The queries to which the *Letters* were an answer were probably sent over in 1636. See Felt, J. B.: *Ecclesiastical History of New England*, p. 277, note. The *Letters* were replied to by John Davenport in 1639 in *An Answer to the Elders of the Severall Churches in New England unto Nine Positions*, printed in 1643; Richard Mather's *Church-government and Church-covenant discussed in an answer of the elders of the severall churches in New England to two and thirty questions*, written in 1639 and printed in 1643; John Cotton's *Keyes of the Kingdom of Heaven*, printed in London in 1644; and Thomas Hooker's *Survey of the Summe of Church Discipline*, printed in 1648. The above are important contemporary works covering most phases of New England church government and usage.

Those interested in the development of the conflict between the Puritans and the Church of England will find the objections of the former in most convenient form in W. H. Freres' and C. E. Douglas' *Puritan Manifestoes*, London, 1907. This volume contains a reprint of the pronouncement entitled, "An Admonition to the Parliament," published in 1572. See especially pages 20 to 37, entitled, "A view of Popishe abuses yet remaining in the Englishe Church, for which Godly Ministers have refused to subscribe." Much other material of interest is included in this book; see, *e.g.*, a proposed "Bill concerning Rites and ceremonies, 1572," on page 149. The introduction is an accurate piece of historical work, though strongly Anglican and unsympathetic to the Puritan cause. It contains practically all that is known as to the authorship of these early Puritan manifestoes.

The "Advertisments" of 1566 which stirred up the Puritans may be conveniently found in Henry Gee's and William John Hardy's *Documents Illustrative of English Church History*, London, 1896, pages 467-475. The Puritan objections are succinctly stated in the famous "Millenary Petition" of 1603, to be found in the same volume, pages 508-511.

[64] Cambridge Platform, Ch. XVI, par. 3, Walker, W.: *Creeds, etc.*, p. 233. The text of the Platform and an excellent discussion of the matter contained therein is given in *ibid.*, pp. 189-237.

contains so good a representation in brief compass of the theory of church and state which was exercised in early Connecticut, that I quote from it somewhat at length:

It is lawful, profitable, and necessary for Christians to gather themselves into church estate, and therein to exercise all the ordinances of Christ according unto the word, although the consent of Magistrate could not be had thereunto, because the Apostles and Christians in their time did frequently thus practice, when the Magistrates, being all of them Jewish or pagan and mostly persecuting enemies, would give no countenance or consent to such matters.

Church-government stands in no opposition to civil government of commonwealths, nor any intrencheth upon the authority of Civil Magistrates in their jurisdictions; nor any whit weakeneth their hands in governing; but rather strengtheneth them and furthereth the people in yielding more hearty and conscionable obedience unto them. . . .

The power and authority of Magistrates is not for the restraining of churches, or any other good works, but for helping in and furthering thereof; and therefore the consent and countenance of Magistrates when it may be had, is not to be sleighted or lightly esteemed; but on the contrary, it is part of that honor due to Christian Magistrates to desire and crave their consent and approbation therein; which being obtained, the churches may then proceed in their way with much more encouragement and comfort.

It is not in the power of Magistrates to compel their subjects to become church members, and to partake at the Lord's table; for the priests are reproved that brought unworthy ones into the sanctuary; then, as it was unlawful for the priests, so it is as unlawful to be done by civil Magistrates. . . .

As it is unlawful for church officers to meddle with the sword of the Magistrate, so it is unlawful for the Magistrate to meddle with the work proper to church officers. . . .

It is the duty of the Magistrate to take care of matters of religion, and to improve his civil authority for the observing of the duties

commanded in the first, as well as in the second table. They are called Gods. The end of the Magistrate's office is not only the quiet and peaceable life of the subject in matters of righteousness and honesty, but also in matters of godliness, yea of all godliness. . . .

Idolatry, blasphemy, heresy, venting corrupt and pernicious opinions that destroy the foundation, open contempt of the word preached, profanation of the Lord's day, disturbing the peaceable administration and exercise of the worship and holy things of God, and the like, are to be restrained and punished by civil authority.

If any church, one or more, shall grow schismatical, rending itself from the communion of other churches, or shall walk incorrigibly or obstinately in any corrupt way of their own, contrary to the rule of the word; in such case, the Magistrate is to put forth his coercive power, as the matter shall require.[65]

Such was the pronouncement of the elders and messengers of the Congregational churches of the four colonies invited into conference by the General Court of Massachusetts Bay. The Cambridge Platform remained the constitution of Connecticut churches until the Saybrook Synod of 1708 and may properly be said to constitute the high-water mark of the theocracy.[66]

The Cambridge Synod having failed to act upon the question of the baptism of the children of those baptized persons who were unable to give a relation of conversion, agitation in regard to the matter continued. New England Congregationalism had come to have two types of church members: first, those who were able to give a "relation" of their religious experience and were admitted into full membership; and second, those who were baptized in infancy, but who were unable on reaching maturity to relate any experience of a change of heart. The puzzling question before the courts and churches was, what should be the status of the children of these baptized persons who were the offspring of regenerate church members,

[65] Cambridge Platform, Ch. XVII; Walker, W.: *The Creeds, etc.*, pp. 234-237.
[66] Adams, J. T.: *The Founding of New England*, p. 257.

but who themselves had not passed beyond the ordinary status of children ecclesiastically?

The General Court of Connecticut, in May, 1656, was asked to take action and to present the question to the courts of the several colonies.[67] The Massachusetts Court, petitioned by the Connecticut Court, proceeded promptly and a meeting was held in June, 1657, although it was representative of Connecticut and Massachusetts only. A series of answers was formulated to the questions of the Connecticut General Court. The meeting adopted the Half-Way Covenant view, as it was later called, which was the extension of the qualifications for baptism to the children of those baptized persons who could lay no claim to Christian experience, but who themselves were the children of parents in church covenant. They were held capable of giving the same status they had to their children. Baptism should be given to such children, provided the non-regenerate parent accepted the obligation of church membership, so far as he could without being truly converted, by acknowledging his intellectual belief in the gospel and his desire to submit to the discipline of the church and to further its welfare. However, nothing but a full profession of faith would entitle a member by birth to partake of the Lord's Table or to qualify him as a voter in church matters.[68] In October of 1664, the Connecticut General Court passed legislation favoring the half-way view.[69]

The "Half-Way" arrangement, far from settling the church's problems, aroused fresh controversies. Inasmuch as the Code of 1650 gave the civil authority "power and liberty to see [that] the peace, ordinances and rules of Christ be observed in every church according to His word,"[70] the General Court essayed

[67] *Conn. Rec.*, I, 1636-1665, p. 281.

[68] A Disputation Concerning Church-Members and their Children in Answer to 21 Questions. Reprinted in Walker, W.: *Creeds, etc.*, pp. 291-300.

[69] *Conn. Rec.* I, 1636-1665, pp. 437-438.

[70] *Ibid.*, pp. 524, 525; section entitled "Ecclestiastical" in Code of 1650.

to conciliate the parties concerned in these disturbances of church life. An instance of this occurred in the quarrel which arose in the First Church of Hartford. The feeling in Connecticut in regard to the "Half-Way Covenant" had been intensified by the union of New Haven Colony and Connecticut, completed in 1665, under the Charter of Charles II of 1662. A quarrel in regard to the "Half-Way Covenant" had arisen in Hartford between the local ministers, Whiting and Haynes, which led in 1670 to the establishment of a second church in Hartford. Stratford and Windsor had similar quarrels. At Branford the trouble was so acute that Abraham Pierson led a number of the settlers to Newark, New Jersey. The Connecticut General Court in 1666 attempted to call a Ministerial Assembly, but failed.[71] The minutes of the Court of October 11, 1666, record:

It is desired by this Court and solemnly commended to the Churches and people of this jurisdiction, to suspend all matters controversial and the practice of them not formerly received and practiced in the churches until an orderly decision be given by the Synod in May next.

The Questions to be disputed.

1. Whether federal holiness or covenant interest be not the proper ground of baptism.

2. Whether communion of churches, as such, be not warrantable by the word of God.

3. Whether the adult seed of visible believers not cast out be not true members and the subject of Church watch.

4. Whether ministerial officers are not as truly bound to baptize the visible disciples of Christ providentially settled amongst them, as officially to preach the Word.

5. Whether settled inhabitants in the country, being members of other Churches, should have their children baptized amongst us without themselves first orderly joining in churches here.

[71] *Conn. Rec.*, II, 1665-1677, see pp. 53-55. The Court ordered that a Synod be called where the questions in debate should go forward to an issue: certain members of the Court were ordered to sit as members of the Synod.

6. Whether membership in a particular instituted church be not essentially requisite under the gospel to entitle to baptism.

7. Whether adopted children and such as are bought with money are covenent seed.

8. Whether things new and weighty may be managed in a church without concurrence of officers and consent of the fraternity of the same church; And if things are of common concern, then how far the consent of neighboring churches is to be sought for.

9. Whether it doth not belong to the body of a town collectively, taken jointly, to call him to be their minister whom the Church shall choose to be their officer.

10. Whether the political and external administration of Abraham's Covenant be not obligatory to gospel churches.

11. Unto whom shall such persons repair that are grieved at any church process or censure, or whether they must acquiesce in the church sentence unto which they do belong.

12. Whether the laying on of hands in ordination of elders belong to Presbyters or brethren.

13. Whether the church her invitation and election of an officer or preaching elder necessitates the whole congregation to sit down satisfied, as bound thereby to accept him as their minister though invited and settled without the town's consent.

14. What is the gospel way to gather or settle churches.

15. From whom do ministers receive their commission to baptize.

16. Whether a synod have a decisive power.

17. Whether it be not justifiable by the word of God that civil authority indulge Congregational and Presbyterian churches, and their discipline in the churches.

The matter was referred to again in 1667.[72] In 1669 the Court, because of the pressure of Episcopalians and other sects outside the established church and also by reason of the divisions arising

[72] *Conn Rec.*, II, 1665-1677, p. 67. In 1677 the General Court records that this "Court sees cause to vary that title, and to style them an Assembly of the ministers of this Colony called together by the General Court for the discussing of questions stated according to former order." This alteration was due to Congregational antipathy to Synods. In October, 1667, the General Court took action upon a suggestion of the Commissioners of the United Colonies that Questions

about matters of church government, declared that, "whereas the Congregational Churches in these parts for the general of their profession and practice have hitherto been approved, we can do no less than still approve and countenance the same to be without disturbance until better light in an orderly way doth appear; but yet forasmuch as sundry persons of worth and prudence and piety amongst us are otherwise persuaded (whose welfare and peaceable satisfaction we desire to accommodate), this Court doth declare that all such persons being also approved according to law as orthodox and sound in the fundamentals of Christian religion may have allowance of their persuasion and profession in church ways or assemblies without disturbance."[73] The law did not relieve Episcopalians from paying the ecclesiastical rates and did not apply to the Quakers, who were not considered orthodox. Six years later, in 1675, the Court enacted that, "This Court being moved to consider of the law respecting Quakers, do see cause at present to suspend the penalty for absence from our public assemblies, or imprisonment of those of that persuasion, provided they do not gather into assemblies in this Colony or make any disturbance."[74] Quakers were not welcome neighbors in the first century and a half of Connecticut settlement. Especially was this true in New Haven Colony.

The Congregational churches, although they were in effect established from the beginning of Connecticut Colony, had been established by law in March, 1657-1658, and no other ministry was to be entertained or attended save that which was openly and publicly observed by the settled and approved

of faith and order should be decided by a Synod or council "of messengers of churches indifferently called out of the United Colonies." For the correspondence between Massachusetts and Connecticut see *ibid.*, pp. 516-517. Nothing came of this action and a court meeting on May 16, 1688, ordered certain pastors to meet at Saybrook "to consider some expedient for our peace." See *ibid.*, p. 84.

[73] *Conn. Rec.*, II, 1665-1677, p. 109.

[74] *Ibid.*, p. 264.

minister, except it be by the approbation of the General Court and of the neighboring churches.[75] The establishment of Congregationalism in 1657 was copied in the revision of 1672, published in 1673.[76] The same provision existed in effect in New Haven Colony, inasmuch as no persons could form a church without the approbation of the magistrates and elders of the churches.[77]

The Congregational General Court made little provision for the people of the Church of England. These latter, smarting under their neglect, petitioned the Court in 1664, stating: "Our aggrievance is, that we and ours, are not under due care of an orthodox ministry, that will in a due manner administer to us those ordinances, that we stand capable of, as the baptizing of our children, and being admitted as we according to Christ's order may be found meet to the Lord's table, and a careful watch over us in our ways and suitable dealing with us as we do well or ill, with all whatsoever benefits and advantages belong to us as members of Christ's visible Church, which ought to be dispensed by the officers of the same, of which we being destitute; We humbly request that this Honored Court would take into serious consideration our present state in this respect, that we are thus as sheep scattered having no shepherd, and compare it with what we conceive you cannot but know, both God and our King would have it different from what it now is, and take some speedy and effectual course for redress therein, and put us in a full and free capacity of enjoying those forementioned advantages which to us as members of Christ's visible church do of right belong, by establishing some wholesome law in this corporation, by virtue whereof, we may both

[75] *Conn. Rec.*, I, 1636-1665, p. 311. For the attitude toward Quakers in New Haven Colony see *N. H. Col. Rec.*, 1653-1664, p. 276.

[76] Section "Ecclesiastical" in *The General Laws and Liberties of Connecticut Colonie*, 1673, p. 21. The same provision was copied in the *Acts and Laws of His Majesties Colony of Connecticut in New England*, 1702, p. 29.

[77] *N. H. Col. Rec.*, 1653-1664, p. 588.

claim and receive of such officers as are or shall be by law set over us in the church or churches where we have our abode or residence those forementioned privileges and advantages." Furthermore, the Episcopalians requested that they should not have to pay any rate toward the upkeep of any minister who should refuse baptism to their children or withhold other pastoral benefits.[78]

Quakers, who occasionally traveled in the colony, were rudely treated and were often forbidden to speak. An incident fairly typical of the treatment accorded to Quakers occurred at Stamford in 1698, where considerable commotion was caused by two of their number.[79]

Throughout this period and the next century, the General Court was the only authority which granted permission for the formation of new churches and allowed separations to take place in old ones. The citizens of Durham were granted liberty to embody into church estate in October, 1708.[80] Canterbury was allowed to gather a church in May, 1711.[81] In October of the same year, permission was given to Farmington to form a church.[82] The farmers of the western lands in the town of Fairfield petitioned the Assembly in May, 1708, in October, 1710, and in May, 1711, for liberty to provide and settle an orthodox minister and to be freed from paying toward the maintenance of the minister of the town of Fairfield. The Court gave them permission to carry out their desires in October, 1714.[83] The records are replete with references to such permissions to separate and to embody into church estate.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the churches of

[78] MSS. record in Conn. State Library, Ecclesiastical, I, 1658-1715, No. 106.

[79] Huntington, Rev. E. B.: *History of Stamford,* pp. 132-134, contains an interesting account by one of the Quakers.

[80] *Conn. Rec.,* V, 1706-1716, p. 72.

[81] *Ibid.,* p. 217.

[82] *Ibid.,* p. 279.

[83] *Ibid.,* pp. 42, 183, 209, 454.

Connecticut felt the need of closer harmony and communication in order to superintend the supply of ministers to churches without pastors, to license candidates for the ministry, and to attend to matters of doctrine and practice which might lead to dissension. The trustees of Yale College, all of whom were ministers of considerable importance, took upon themselves at a meeting in March of 1703 to send a circular letter to the clergy of the colony to ascertain whether they were agreeable to having the colonial Legislature approve the Massachusetts Confession of 1680, very similar to the Savoy Confession of 1658 in doctrinal content, which was a revision of the Westminster Confession. Nothing, however, came of this action.

A strong movement was on foot in Massachusetts in 1704 and 1705 for the strengthening of ecclesiastical government.[84] The Massachusetts Proposals of 1705, in brief, set forth a plan for the ministers "of the country" to form themselves into associations for the consideration of matters of common interest, to bring about an organization embracing the local associations in order that church matters of more than local importance, such as the trial of candidates for the ministry, the care of bereaved churches, and the convening of councils, could be effectively handled. The Proposals were approved on September 13 of that year by a committee of nine delegates representing the five local associations of Boston, Weymouth, Salem, Sherbourne, and Bristol.[85] These Proposals did not, however, receive legislative support from the Massachusetts General Court.

With the election of Rev. Gurdon Saltonstall, of New London, to the governorship in December, 1707, the movement for a stricter church government in Connecticut received substantial support. In May of 1708 the General Court issued a call for a Synod to be held at Saybrook. The Court ordered representa-

[84] Walker, W.: *Creeds, etc.*, pp. 485-486.
[85] *Ibid.*, p. 485; for the text of "The Proposals of 1705," see pp. 486-490.

tives of the churches to convene in their respective county towns on June 28, 1708, to agree upon a form of church government, "being made sensible of the defects of the discipline of the churches of this government, arising from the want of a more explicit asserting of the rules given for that end in the holy scriptures." They were also to choose delegates to meet for a conference at the next Commencement of the College. These delegates should in turn formulate a "form of ecclesiastical discipline which by two or more persons delegated by them shall be offered to this Court."[86]

The Synod met as directed. It approved the Massachusetts Confession of 1680, adopted by the Massachusetts Reforming Synod of 1679-1680, in May of the latter year. The Heads of Agreement of 1691, drawn up by the "United Ministers In and about London, Formerly called Presbyterian and Congregational," for their joint and mutual assistance, dealing with church membership, the ministry, censures, the communion of churches, and kindred subjects, were also approved and made part of the platform. The extent to which the church and its ministers were subservient to the civil magistrate is revealed in the seventh section of the "Heads of Agreement": "That if at any time it shall be their [the magistrates] pleasure to call together any number of us, or require any account of our affairs, and the state of our Congregations, we shall most readily express all dutiful regard to them herein."[87] The delegates then formulated the fifteen articles which constituted the Saybrook Platform proper.

The Saybrook Articles met some opposition, but, unlike the Massachusetts Proposals, they had the power of the General Court behind them. This report was laid before the Court and approved by them in October, 1708.[88] The Assembly declared

[86] *Conn. Rec.*, V, 1706-1716, p. 51.
[87] For text of Heads of Agreement, see Walker, W.: *Creeds, etc.*, pp. 455-462.
[88] *Conn. Rec.*, V, 1706-1716, p. 87.

"their approbation of such a happy agreement, and do ordain that all the churches within this government, that are or shall be thus united in doctrine, worship and discipline, be, and for the future shall be, owned and acknowledged established by law. Provided always that nothing herein shall be intended and construed to hinder or prevent any society or church that is or shall be allowed by the laws of this government, who soberly differ or dissent from the united churches hereby established, from exercising worship and discipline in their own way, according to their consciences." This last clause merely ratified a toleration act which had been passed in May, 1708, based on the English Toleration Act of 1689, which granted freedom of worship to dissenters but nevertheless continued to require payment of taxes for the support of the established churches.[89]

In May, 1709, the Court ordered the first session of the General Association of the Congregational churches, then in session at Hartford, to prepare the various symbols passed at Saybrook for the press.[90] The volume was published at New London in 1710, and was the first book printed in Connecticut.[91]

Connecticut now had a state Congregational church, substantially aided by the General Assembly "out of a tender regard to the welfare of the churches within the limits of this government"[92] exercising the "power and authority of Magistrates" which was "not for the restraining of churches or any other good works, but for helping in and furthering thereof."[93] This condition persisted for nearly a century and a quarter. Trumbull observed, in writing of the relations of the church and civil magistrate in this period, that they walked like Moses and Aaron in terms of most endearing friendship, mutually supporting and increasing each other's influence.[94]

[89] *Conn. Rec.*, V, 1706-1716, p. 87.
[90] *Ibid.*, pp. 97-98.
[91] Walker, W.: *Creeds, etc.*, p. 507.
[92] See the Preface to the Articles, Walker, W.: *Creeds, etc.*, pp. 521-523.
[93] Cambridge Platform, Ch. XVII, Walker, W.: *Creeds, etc.*, p. 235.
[94] Trumbull, Benjamin: *Hist. of Conn.*, I, p. 288.

II.

Legislation Bearing upon Religious Education.

A. NEW HAVEN COLONY, 1638-1665

HAVING looked into the theory and practice of the Connecticut settlers in regard to the relation of the civil power to the church, we turn now to the embodiment of this theory in the educational legislation of New Haven and Connecticut colonies. The end of all education in this early period was religious. No sharp distinction can be made between provisions for general education and provisions for religious instruction. The two were inextricably connected.

Within a year after the settling of New Haven, a school was started. In 1639 Thomas Fugill was ordered by the Court to keep Charles Higginson, an indented apprentice, "at school one year; or else to advantage him as much in his education as a year's learning comes to."[1] At a General Court held on the "25th day of the 12th month of 1641," a free school was ordered to be set up in the town.[2] In August, 1644, the salary of the schoolmaster, Ezekiel Cheevers, was increased from twenty pounds per year to thirty pounds, the former sum "not proving a competent maintenance."[3] The colonial and town records of New Haven have many entries relative to moneys for teachers and reports on the conditions of schools.[4]

At a General Court held at New Haven for the jurisdiction on May 25, 1649, the Court, "looking upon it as their great

[1] *N. H. Col. Rec.*, 1638-1649, p. 30. See Steiner, Bernard C.: *The History of Education in Connecticut*, for an account of early education in Connecticut,—especially Chapters I and II.

[2] *N. H. Col. Rec.*, 1638-1649, p. 62.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 210.

[4] *Ibid.*, 1653-1664, pp. 219, 583. For considerations in regard to grammar schools, see *ibid.*, 1653-1664, pp. 301, 374, 458, 471.

duty to establish some course (that through the blessing of God) learning may be pronounced in the jurisdiction, as a means for the fitting of instruments for public service in church and commonwealth, did order that 40 pounds a year shall be paid by the treasurer for the furtherance of a grammar school."[5] Although no direct provisions for religious education appear on the face of this enactment, the religious aim of education, "as a means for the fitting of instruments for public service in church and commonwealth," is of a piece with the religious purpose continually manifested in the legislation of colonial days.

The New Haven Code of 1655 combined the legislation of previous years. The section of the New Haven Code of 1655 upon Children's Education stated: "It is ordered, that the deputies for the particular Court, in each Plantation within this jurisdiction for the time being; or where there are no such deputies, the constable, or other officer, or officers in public trust, shall from time to time, have a vigilant eye over their brethren, and neighbors, within the limits of said Plantations, that all parents and masters, do duly endeavor, either by their own ability and labor, or by improving such Schoolmaster, or other helps and means as the plantation doth afford or the family may conveniently provide, that all their Children and Apprentices, as they grow capable, may through God's blessing, attain at least so much as to be able duly to read the Scriptures, and other good and profitable printed Books in the English tongue, being their native tongue, and in some competent measure, to understand the main grounds and principles of Christian Religion necessary to salvation."[6]

The apprenticeship system was in vogue throughout New

[5] *N. H. Col. Rec.*, 1653-1664, p. 301.

[6] For a discussion of apprenticeship education, see Seybolt, F. R.: *Apprenticeship and Apprenticeship Education in Colonial New England and New York,* Teachers College, Columbia University Contributions to Education, No. 85.

England and the other colonies. It was undoubtedly a moral and educational influence, inasmuch as the apprentices were under the moral tutelage of masters and at least a certain minimum of education was given. Some colonies forbade masters allowing their charges to drink ale or go to the taverns. A knowledge of writing was about all most apprentices probably got in the way of education.[7]

The General Court of New Haven was constantly on the alert for social influences that militated against religion, and the session of May 30, 1660, forbade persons "to meet or company together in any kind of vain manner or unseasonable time, whether by day or by night, to misspend and waste the precious talent of these gospel seasons of grace which we yet enjoy, to the hurt and hindrance of religious education in all godliness and honesty."[8]

The minutes of the same session contain a long writing from John Davenport to the General Court, relative to the will of Edward Hopkins, Esq., together with the recital of certain portions of a letter from Hopkins to Davenport, in which the former declared: "That which the Lord hath given me in those parts, I ever designed the greatest part of it for the furtherance of the work of Christ in those ends of the earth; and if I understood that a college is begun and like to be carried on at New Haven for the good of posterity, I shall give some encouragement thereto."[9] There follows an enumeration of the provisions of the trusteeship and sundry matters connected therewith and the following section relative to the aim of instruction: "Sixthly, that certain orders shall be speedily made for the school, and when the college shall proceed, for it also, that the education of youth may be carried on suitably to

[7] *New Haven's Settling in New England and Some Lawes for Government; published for the Use of that Colony, etc.* London, 1656. Reprinted in *N. H. Col. Rec.*, 1653-1664, p. 583.

[8] *N. H. Col. Rec.*, 1653-1664, p. 366.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 370.

Christ's ends, by the council of the teaching elders in this colony; and that what they shall conclude with consent, being approved by the honored magistrates, be ratified by the General Court."[10] In conclusion of the writing, John Davenport says: "Lastly, he hopeth he shall not need to add what he expressed by word of mouth that the Honored General Court will not suffer this gift to be lost from the colony, but as it becometh the Fathers of the Commonwealth, will use all good endeavors to get it into their hands and to assert their right in it for the common good, that posterity may reap the good fruit of their labors and wisdom and faithfulness, and that Jesus Christ may have the service and honor of such provision made for his people, in whom I rest."[11]

The religious purpose of education in this period is incorporated in this provision. In the proceedings of the same session, the General Court ordered that, "To the printed law, concerning the education of children, it is now added that the sons of all the inhabitants within this jurisdiction shall (under the same penalty) be learned to write a legible hand, so soon as they are capable of it."[12] This is perhaps the first compulsory legislation providing that all boys shall be taught reading and writing, and all girls reading.

New Haven Colony, from its foundation in 1638, was independent of Connecticut Colony until it was formally united to Connecticut on August 14, 1665, under the terms of the charter of 1662. In the interim between 1662 and 1665, New Haven was not represented by deputies in the Assembly, until March of the latter year. During this time the laws of New Haven were not abrogated. After 1665 the educational provisions of Connecticut Colony took precedence.

[10] *N. H. Col. Rec.*, 1653-1664, p. 373.
[11] *Ibid.*, 1653-1664, p. 374.
[12] *Ibid.*, p. 376.

B. CONNECTICUT COLONY TO THE YEAR 1665

Connecticut Colony as well as New Haven had a religious aim in education. Children were to be reared as godly and orthodox members of a Christian commonwealth. The purpose of the inhabitants of the towns of Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield, in confederating, was stated in the Fundamental Orders or the Constitution of 1639 to be, "to maintain and preserve the liberty and purity of the gospel of our Lord Jesus, which we now profess, as also the discipline of the Churches, which according to the truth of the said gospel is now practiced amongst us."[13] To carry out such purposes, the future citizens of the colony must be reared in the principles of religion as well as in learning of a more mundane character.

Several elements united to favor universal education in Connecticut Colony. The Constitution of 1639, which made all civil officers elective and gave to all inhabitants who would take the oath of allegiance the right to vote and be voted for, created a political society in which education was imperative for self-preservation. Secondly, inasmuch as the Bible was the rule and guide of the life of the people, a knowledge of the Scriptures was therefore necessary for this God-fearing society. In addition to the political and religious reasons for education, many of the founders had received grammar school education in England and a few had attended English universities. Such parents would naturally want like advantages for their children. In view of the expense of educating a child in the schools about Massachusetts Bay or sending it to England, it was natural that parents should desire good common schools in which to rear their young.

The first mention of a school in the town records extant occurs in a Hartford vote of 1642, when an appropriation of thirty pounds is ordered.[14] The earliest records of Hartford

[13] *Conn. Rec.*, I, 1636-1665, p. 21.
[14] "Hartford Town Votes," 1642; *Conn. Hist. Soc. Col.*, VI, p. 63.

are lost. The following year, in April, provision was made for payment of the schoolmaster. Townsmen were to pay twenty shillings a year, and if children attended more than an even quarter a charge of sixpence a week was to be made. Payment was to be made by the town for children whose parents were unable to pay the rate, and any deficit was to be made up from the same source.[15] In February, 1648, further legislation appears in regard to a school building. It is difficult to say when the first school began in Wethersfield, but probably at an early date, inasmuch as the schoolhouse had become unfit for service by 1660, for in July of that year the town voted to purchase land and provide for a new schoolhouse.[16] The first direct reference to a school in Windsor occurs in the town records for February, 1656/7, when "it was voted that Mr. Branker should have 5 pounds paid to him out of the next town rate toward his maintenance of a school."[17]

Connecticut patterned her legislation in regard to schools and education after Massachusetts Bay. On June 14, 1642, the General Court of the latter colony, fearing that parents and masters were neglecting the education of the young, decreed "that in every town the chosen men appointed for managing the prudential affairs of the same shall henceforth stand charged with the care of the redress of this evil, so as they shall be liable to be punished or fined for the neglect thereof, upon any presentment of the grand jurors, or other information or complaint in any plantations in this jurisdiction; and for this end they, or the greater part of them, shall have power to take account from time to time of their parents and masters, and of their children, concerning their calling and employment of their children, especially of their ability to read and understand the principles of religion and the capital laws of the

[15] "Hartford Town Votes," 1642; *Conn. Hist. Soc. Col.*, VI, p. 65.
[16] Stiles, Henry R.: *The History of Ancient Wethersfield*, p. 358.
[17] Stiles, Henry R.: *The History of Ancient Windsor*, p. 446.

country, and to impose fines upon all those who refuse to render such account to them when required."[18] Further provisions followed regarding apprenticeship of the children "of such as they shall find not to be able and fit to employ and bring them up," and the enforcement of the provisions enumerated. This order was to continue for two years, until the Court should further order. The Massachusetts law of 1642 required universal education, but it did not make education free. Neither did it impose any penalty upon municipal corporations for neglecting to maintain a school. Previously to 1642, the New England colonies had taken no measures for compulsory schools. Education had been a matter which had been cared for by towns or by private interests.

Under date of November 11, 1647, the Massachusetts Bay General Court assumed still further responsibility for the education of its coming citizens and enacted: "It being one of the chief projects of that old deluder, Satan, to keep men from the knowledge of the Scriptures, as in former times by keeping them in an unknown tongue, so in these latter times by persuading from the use of tongues, that so at least the true sense and meaning of the original might be clouded by false glosses of saint seeming deceivers, that learning may not be buried in the grave of our fathers in the church and commonwealth, the Lord assisting our endeavors,—It is therefore ordered that every township in this jurisdiction, after the Lord hath increased them to the number of 50 householders, shall then forthwith appoint one within their town to teach all such children as shall resort to him to write and read."[19] This law was copied with minor changes in the Connecticut Code of 1650.[20] A further provision for a grammar school is made for towns having one hundred families and a fine of five pounds imposed

[18] *Rec. Mass. Bay*, II, 1642-1649, pp. 8-9.
[19] *Ibid.*, p. 203.
[20] *Conn. Rec.*, I, 1636-1665; Code of 1650, section on Schools, pp. 554-555.

for neglect to establish such a school within one year. Windsor was fined five pounds for the neglect of this statute in 1672, and the sum turned over to the Hartford Grammar School.[21] The religious purpose of the colonial legislators is apparent upon the face of the bill. In 1648 Massachusetts passed another important act relative to the education of children by parents and masters.

The Connecticut Code of 1650 follows very closely the Massachusetts law of 1648 in respect to the education of children, which in turn was a revision of the Massachusetts law of 1642. The section on "Children" of the Connecticut Code reads: "Forasmuch as the good Education of Children is of singular behoof and benefit to any Commonwealth, and whereas many parents and masters are too indulgent and negligent of their duty in that kind; it is therefore ordered by this Court and Authority thereof, that the Selectmen of every Town in the several precincts and quarters where they dwell, shall have a vigilant eye over their brethren and neighbors, to see first, that none of them shall suffer so much barbarism in any of their families as not to endeavor to teach themselves or others their children and apprentices so much learning as may enable them perfectly to read the English tongue, and knowledge of the capital laws, upon penalty of twenty shillings for each neglect therein; also, that all Masters of families do once a week at least catechize their children and servants in the grounds and principles of religion; and if any be unable to do so much, that then at least they procure such Children or Apprentices to learn some short orthodox catechism, without book, that they may be able to answer to the questions that shall be propounded to them out of such catechisms by their parents or masters or any of the selectmen, when they shall call them to a trial of what they have learned in this kind."[22]

[21] Stiles, Henry R.: *The History of Ancient Windsor*, p. 446.
[22] *Conn. Rec.*, I, 1636-1665, pp. 520-521.

This act continues with provisions for bringing children and apprentices up in "some honest lawful labor or employment" and with clauses penalizing parents or masters who fail to comply by depriving them of their children or apprentices.

Provision was also made in the Code of 1650 for the religious education of Indians. The Court, judging it necessary that some means should be employed "to convey the light and knowledge of God and of his word" to the savages, ordered that one of the teaching elders of the churches should go among the neighboring Indians at least twice in each year and endeavor "to make known unto them the counsels of the Lord."[23] At a suggestion of the Commissioners of the United Colonies, the Court in September, 1654, acknowledging that little had been done previously owing to the want of a competent interpreter, and being desirous of bringing about a work among the Indians, "wherein the glory of God and the everlasting welfare of those poor lost, naked sons of Adam is so deeply concerned," ordered Thomas Mynor of Pequot to send his son, John Mynor, to Hartford to be schooled, in order that when educated he should be used as an assistant to the elders who should preach among the Indians.[24]

The provision of the Code of 1650 relative to the religious instruction of children persisted in Connecticut legislation with immaterial variations in phraseology for over one hundred and fifty years, until finally dropped in the legislation of 1821.

C. CONNECTICUT COLONY FROM 1665 TO 1712

A need was felt for a codification of the colony laws by the year 1671. Many laws had been passed which made for uncertainty. In addition, New Haven Colony people were not familiar with Connecticut law. At a court of election held at Hartford on May 11 of that year, the General Court ordered

[23] *Conn. Rec.*, I, 1636-1665, p. 531.
[24] *Ibid.*, p. 265.

the secretary, a Mr. Allyn, to "prepare a draft of the Laws of this Jurisdiction now in use," with such other amendments and additions as should be found necessary, for the Court's approval.[25] This Code of 1672, as it has been sometimes known, was practically identical in its provisions regarding schools and the education of children with the Code of 1650,[26] with the addition of a clause providing for a grammar school in each of the four counties of Hartford, New London, New Haven, and Fairfield.

The religious purpose of education continued to be expressed in the legislation of Connecticut after the union with New Haven Colony. At the Court held at Hartford on May 11, 1676, the Court decreed: "Whereas reading the Scripture, catechizing the children and daily prayer with giving of thanks is part of God's worship and the homage due to him, to be attended conscientiously by every Christian family to distinguish them from the heathen who call not upon God, and the neglect of it a great sin, provoking God to pour forth wrath on such families or persons, for redress whereof, where any such neglect may be found, this court do solemnly recommend it to the ministry in all places, to look into the state of such families, convince them of and instruct them in their duty, and by all due means encourage them that none be found among us utterly ignorant and profane."[27] This piece of legislation pertains directly to families and reveals the extent to which paternalistic legislation went in regard to religious education when the Puritan

[25] *Conn. Rec.*, II, 1665-1677, p. 153.

[26] For a description of the *Law Book of 1673*, see Bates, Albert C.: article in *Hartford Daily Courant*, Nov. 5, 1902, p. 14. An original copy of the *Law Book of 1673* exists in the Yale Library. The title of this book is, *The Book of the General Laws, for the People within the Jurisdiction of Connecticut, collected out of the records of the General Court, lately revised, and with some Emendations and Additions Established and Published by the Authority of the General Court of Connecticut holden at Hartford in October, 1672.* Cambridge. Printed by Samuel Green, 1673. See p. 13.

[27] *Conn. Rec.*, II, 1665-1677, p. 281.

theocratic ideal was in its full power. The Court made further provision: "But if any heads or governors of such families shall be obstinate and refractory and will not be reformed, that the grand jury present such persons to the county court to be fined or punished or bound to good behavior, according to the demerits of the case."[28]

Inasmuch as small settlements were multiplying, the Court ordered in May, 1678, that "As an addition to the law title 'Schools,' this Court now see cause to order that every town, when the Lord shall have increased their numbers to thirty families, they shall have and maintain a school to teach children to read and write."[29]

During this period the colonies were going through many fiery trials. Cotton Mather stated:

> By land, some of the principal grains, especially our wheat and our peas, fell under an unaccountable blast, from which we are not even unto this day delivered: and besides that constant frown from heaven upon our husbandry, recurring every year, few years passed, wherein either worms or droughts or some consuming disaster have not befallen the "labor of the husbandman." By sea, we were visited by multiplied shipwrecks, enemies prey'd on our vessels and our sailors, and the affairs of the merchant were clogged with losses abroad: or fires, breaking forth in the chief seats of trade at home, wasted their substance with yet more costly desolations. Nor did the land and the sea, more proclaim the controversy of our God against us, than that other element of the air, by the contagious vapors whereof several pestilential sicknesses did sometimes become epidemical among us. Yea, the judgments of God having done first the part of the moth upon us, proceeded then to do the part of a lion, in lamentable wars, wherein barbarous Indians cruelly butchered many hundreds of our inhabitants, then scattered whole towns with miserable ruins.[30]

[28] *Conn. Rec.*, II, 1665-1677, p. 281.
[29] *Ibid.*, III, 1678-1689, p. 9.
[30] Mather, Cotton: *Magnalia* (ed. 1853), II, p. 316.

In September of the year 1679, the "Reforming Synod" met at Boston, to consider "the evils that have provoked the Lord to bring his judgments on New England." The legislation of the day also reflected the general state of alarm. On May 18, 1680, the General Court ordered: "For the better preservation and propagation of religion to posterity, it is ordered by this Court that it be recommended to the ministry of this Colony to catechise the youth in their respective places that are under twenty years of age, in the Assembly of Divines Catechism, or some other orthodox catechism, on the Sabbath days."[31]

The Court continued to be exercised over what must have seemed to the godly as a special manifestation of wrath in the signal misfortunes which had overtaken the colonies. On May 8, 1684, at a court of election held at Hartford, the General Court stated: "Whereas this Court in the calamitous time of New England's distress by war with the Indians, in the years seventy-five and seventy-six, were moved to make some laws for the suppression of some provoking evils which were feared to be growing up amongst us,[32] as, viz., profanation of the Sabbath; neglect of catechizing of children and servants and family prayer; young persons shaking of the government of parents or masters; boarders and inmates neglecting the worship of God in families where they reside; tippling and drinking; uncleanness; oppression, in workmen and traders; which laws (for want of due prosecution of offenders that are guilty of the breach of them) have little prevailed to the suppressing of the growth of said evils amongst us and not answered that expectation of reformation which this court aimed at," etc.[33] An enforcing provision was enacted as part of this legislation.

The laws for compulsory education of children were evi-

[31] *Conn. Rec.*, III, 1678-1689, p. 65.

[32] Referring to laws recorded in *Conn. Rec.*, II, 1665-1677, pp. 280-283, cited *ante*.

[33] *Conn. Rec.*, III, 1678-1689, pp. 147-148.

dently not observed as circumspectly as the General Court desired, for on May 13, 1690, we find an enactment that, "This Court, observing that notwithstanding the former orders made for the erudition of children and servants, there are many persons unable to read the English tongue and thereby incapable to read the Holy Word of God, or the good laws of the Colony, which evil, that it grow no further upon their Majesties subjects here, it is hereby ordered that all parents and masters shall cause their respective children and servants, as they are capable to be taught to read distinctly the English tongue, and that the grand jurymen in each town do once in the year at least visit each family they suspect to neglect this order," etc. A provision for enforcement followed.[34]

The religion of the pioneers was diminished by the difficult struggle with the wilderness. This was especially dangerous, inasmuch as many of the educated men of the first generation were now passing away and there was grave peril that learning would perish in the grave of the fathers in church and in commonwealth.

The Court was not content with establishing grammar schools in the four county towns, but in 1690 endeavored to make two of these free. These free schools were to be at Hartford and New Haven, the towns which were the beneficiaries under the will of Governor Hopkins.

During this period of indifference to religion, Sir Edmund Andros, the governor appointed by order of James II, took control of the government of Connecticut on October 31, 1687.[35] Of this event, Roger Wolcott stated: "Sir Edmund then assumed the government and acted arbitrarily toward the people, appointed courts, commissioned civil and military of himself, and no man dare question or resist. Yet the discontents of the people made such impression upon him that one morning he

[34] *Conn. Rec.*, IV, 1689-1706, p. 30.
[35] *Ibid.*, III, 1678-1689, p. 389.

told Doctor Hooker he thought the good people of Connecticut kept many days of fasting and prayer on his account. Very probable, says the Doctor, for we read that this kind goeth not out by other means."[36]

Gershom Bulkeley remarked regarding the transfer of the government to Sir Edmund Andros: "Hereupon the late charter government was by them (who before had the exercise of it) thought to be dissolved: as a pledge whereof, the secretary, who was well acquainted with all the transactions of the general court, and very well understood their meaning and intent in all, delivered their common seal to Sir E. A."[37]

Andros was not to remain governor for long, however, for James II abdicated on December 11, 1688, and the crown was accepted by William and Mary on February 13, 1689. On April 18 Andros was made a prisoner in Boston. On May 9 of the same year, Governor Robert Treat, at the desire of the freemen, together with the former magistrates resumed the government of Connecticut.[38] On June 13 the General Court proclaimed William and Mary King and Queen of England,[39] amid general rejoicing.[40]

An Andros law passed on March 17, 1687/8, entitled "An Act for regulating the choice of Selectmen, Constables and other officers in the respective Towns within this Do-

[36] Wolcott, Roger: "A Memoir for the History of Connecticut," 1759, *Conn. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, III, p. 331.

[37] Bulkeley, Gershom: "Will and Doom," 1692, *Conn. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, III, p. 140. Bulkeley was opposed to the resumption of the charter government.

[38] *Conn. Rec.*, III, 1678-1689, p. 250. For an account of the revolution in Connecticut, see *Conn. Rec.*, III, 1678-1689, pp. 455-460.

[39] *Ibid.*, p. 253.

[40] Trumbull, Benjamin: *Hist. of Conn.*, 1818, I, p. 377. An account of the revolution under Andros may be found in *The Revolution in New England Justified and the People there Vindicated,* by "several Gentlemen" who were on Andros' Council, Boston, 1691, and *An Account of the Late Revolution in New England. Together with the Declaration of the Gentlemen, Merchants, and Inhabitants of Boston, and the Country adjacent.* April 18, 1689, published by Mr. Nathaniel Byfield in London.

minion," had provided for "putting children apprentices" among sundry other duties of the selectmen therein enumerated.[41] It omitted any reference to religious education, and towns, parents, and masters appear, so far as this legislation is concerned, to have been relieved from such obligations except in so far as they should individually wish to assume the same. What the actual state of the colonies was during the régime of Sir Edmund Andros is revealed in the language of the General Court at its Hartford meeting, when Connecticut resumed her government on May 9, 1688: "Whereas this court hath been interrupted in the management of the government in this Colony of Connecticut for near eighteen months past, and our laws and courts have been disused; that there may be no damage accrue to the public thereby, it is now enacted, ordered and declared, that all the laws of this Colony formerly made, according to Charter, and courts constituted in this colony for administration of justice, as they were before the late interruption, shall be of full force and virtue for the future and till this Court shall see cause to make farther and other alteration and provision according to charter."[42] The word "disused" was probably a euphemism for a general disregard of the colony laws during the Andros régime.

The religious aim of colonial education is again stated in the "Act for a Collegiate School," passed at a General Assembly held at New Haven October 9, 1701: "Whereas several well disposed and public spirited persons of their sincere regard to and zeal for the upholding and propagating of the Christian Protestant religion, by a succession of learned and orthodox men, have expressed by petition their earnest desires that full liberty and privilege be granted unto certain undertakers, for the founding and suitably endowing and ordering a

[41] *Conn. Rec.*, III, 1678-1689, p. 428. The enactments of the Andros régime cover pages 420-436 of this volume.

[42] *Ibid.*, p. 251.

Collegiate school within this his Majesty's Colony of Connecticut, where youth may be instructed in the arts and sciences, who through the blessing of Almighty God, may be fitted for public employments both in church and civil state."[43] Again, on October 21, 1703, an act was passed in support of Yale College and the hope expressed "that the said school under the present conduct of the said trustees will (through the divine blessing) conduce to the advancement of the interest of religion and the general good of the Colony."[44]

In the revised edition of the laws which was completed in 1700 and printed in 1702, the provisions for the education of children are practically those of the Code of 1650, with the addition of a provision regarding stubborn and rebellious children.[45] It imposes a fine of twenty shilling upon parents and masters for neglect, as well as upon selectmen and grand jurymen, "any one Assistant or Justice of the Peace to issue and determine the same." Formerly the county court was to perform this act. Parents, masters, and ministers were to propound questions to the children, whereas formerly parents and selectmen put the queries. A law of October, 1700, required the four county towns to maintain grammar schools, and towns of seventy families, a reading and writing school constantly from year to year.[46] Towns of less than seventy families were to keep such a school one-half year. A colony tax of forty shillings upon the thousand pounds' valuation was laid to support the schools. Tuition was also provided for in case the state tax did not provide sufficient funds. This law was strengthened somewhat in May, 1702, to insure the collection of the forty shilling tax. It was a difficult tax to collect, and in 1711 it was

[43] *Conn. Rec.*, IV, 1689-1706, p. 363.

[44] *Ibid.*, p. 454.

[45] *Acts and Laws of his Majesties Colony of Connecticut in New England*, pp. 15-16. Boston. Printed by Bartholomew Green and John Allen, 1702. See also *Conn. Rec.*, IV, 1689-1706, pp. 30-31, for a provision made in 1690.

[46] *Conn. Rec.*, IV, 1689-1706, p. 331.

distributed to the towns in "bills of credit, two-thirds that sum in money."

In October of 1712 an important act was passed which took the government of schools from the towns and placed it in the hands of the parishes. Money collected for school purposes was to be distributed to parishes, where such existed, who should be responsible for the education of the children. The act provided, "That all the parishes, which are already made, or shall hereafter be made by this assembly, shall have to the bringing up of their children, and maintenance of a school in some fixed place within the bounds of their parish, the forty shillings in every thousand pounds arising on the list of estates, within their said parish.[47] Any other law notwithstanding."[48] Common schools continued to be in the hands of the parishes until the legislation of 1795 and 1798 placed control in the school societies. Whether or not the legislators were of the opinion that such action would bring about a more prompt payment of the tax, is not apparent on the records. The law of 1712 may have been a part of the general movement which, in the Saybrook Synod in 1708, led to the formal establishment of the Congregational Churches. The parishes thus established by law afforded a convenient and interested administrative unit for the control of school affairs.

D. ECCLESIASTICAL LEGISLATION IN THE PERIOD 1633-1712

Church legislation during the first century of Connecticut is contained in the findings of various synods or assemblies of elders and messengers, summoned or invited by the Con-

[47] The "forty shillings in every thousand pounds" refers to a provision of a law of 1700. See *Conn. Rec.*, IV, 1689-1706, p. 331.

[48] *Acts and Laws passed by the General Court or Assembly of her Majesties Colony of Connecticut in New England*, October, 1712, p. 60. Also printed in *Conn. Rec.*, V. 1706-1716, p. 353.

Collegiate school within this his Majesty's Colony of Connecticut, where youth may be instructed in the arts and sciences, who through the blessing of Almighty God, may be fitted for public employments both in church and civil state."[43] Again, on October 21, 1703, an act was passed in support of Yale College and the hope expressed "that the said school under the present conduct of the said trustees will (through the divine blessing) conduce to the advancement of the interest of religion and the general good of the Colony."[44]

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[43] *Conn. Rec.*, IV, 1689-1706, p. 363.

[44] *Ibid.*, p. 454.

[45] *Acts and Laws of his Majesties Colony of Connecticut in New England*, pp. 15-16. Boston. Printed by Bartholomew Green and John Allen, 1702. See also *Conn. Rec.*, IV, 1689-1706, pp. 30-31, for a provision made in 1690.

[46] *Conn. Rec.*, IV, 1689-1706, p. 331.

The Platform recommended a "personal relation of their spiritual estate in public" of all those who were coming into full fellowship in the church. Members who were born into the church were compelled to go through the same examination as others. When they were grown to years of discretion and desired to be partakers of the Lord's Supper, they were to manifest their faith and repentance by an open profession.

Those who were born church members, however, had many privileges which others did not have. Baptism for them was a seal that they were in covenant with God. "So if not regenerated, yet are in a more hopeful way of attaining regenerating grace, and all the spiritual blessings, both of the covenant and seal; they are also under church watch, and consequently subject to reprehensions, admonitions and censures thereof, for their healing and amendment as need shall require."[56]

The Massachusetts General Court, in calling the Cambridge Synod, held as its chief motive the settlement of questions relating to baptism and church membership. The Synod, however, turned its attention very largely to considerations of church polity and government. The questions of baptism and its relation to church membership could not remain long in abeyance, since the first generation were rapidly passing away and the problem of baptism became acute as the children of the early settlers grew to the age of church membership. Early New England churches held strongly to the doctrine that the visible church should consist of none but Christians who could give evidence of their religious estate.[57] Consequently, none were admitted who were not able to relate the operation of the grace of God in their own lives. Such a test was natural for those sturdy souls who were sifted out of the Puritan and Sepa-

[56] Cambridge Platform, Ch. XII; Walker, W.: *Creeds, etc.*, p. 224.

[57] Mather, Richard: *Church-Government and Church Covenant discussed. In an Answer of the Elders of the severall Churches in New-England To two and thirty Questions, sent over by them by divers Ministers in England, to declare their judgments therein.* London, 1643, pp. 8-9.

ratist movements in England and Holland to make up the first quotas of those who settled New England, but could hardly be applied without friction to the succeeding generations. An exception was made to the rule that none were to be admitted who could not give a relation of their religious experiences, in the case of the children of church members. The churches from the first, holding to the covenant element in church membership, maintained the covenant included the children of church members as well as members themselves. Children were entitled to baptism because they were already members of the church. An inconsistency thus crept into Congregational practice. While the church fathers affirmed that a true church consisted only of those who possessed personal Christian character, they nevertheless admitted to some degree of membership persons who "owned the covenant," by giving it their intellectual assent, and whose only claim to church membership was the membership of their parents. This inconsistency the churches sought to remedy by having such children make a profession of personal regeneration before they should be admitted to the Lord's Supper. This practice of giving assent to the covenant by unregenerate church members earned for itself the name of "Half-Way Covenant," in contrast to the more complete membership obtained by the members who were able to relate an experience of regeneration. When many of this class grew to maturity and were unable to lay claim to such an act of transforming grace as their elders would term "a change of heart," the "Half-Way Covenant" problem became prominent.

Three courses lay before the churches. They could admit such unregenerate members to full communion; they could exclude them entirely; or they could form some sort of compromise. They chose the third procedure. Unregenerate members were accounted able to transmit church membership and the right to baptism to their children, but they were not allowed to partake of the Lord's table. On the other hand, baptism was

considered such an important rite in the religious life of the child that no unregenerate member could claim it for his children without first "owning the covenant," which meant giving intellectual assent to the main truths of the Gospel, with a promise of fidelity and obedience to the church. The Ministerial Convention of 1657, called by the Massachusetts General Court[58] at the request of the Connecticut General Court, arrived at this result.[59] New Haven refused to send delegates, being opposed to the "half-way" view.[60] The Synod of 1662 adopted the same position as the Convention of 1657. This Synod was essentially a local Massachusetts gathering, and as such did not materially influence the churches of Connecticut.

The half-way position was favored by a large class of respectable citizens who could not conscientiously feel that they were regenerated or who could not otherwise comply with the rigid requirements for church membership, but who desired the privileges of membership and of baptism and the watch care of the church for their children. The matter was further involved by the question as to whether all the inhabitants of a town should vote in electing ministers, since all must support him, or whether the vote should be confined to those who were in full membership in the church. By virtue of the Half-Way Covenant, non-regenerate members were in a better position to urge their right to vote.

The clergy was more anxious than the magistrates to adopt some compromise along the lines of the Half-Way Covenant. Their power depended upon the number of church members, as well as upon a strict conformity to church discipline by those within the fold of the church. The theocracy was endangered not only from an increase in toleration and dissent, but from

[58] *Rec. Mass. Bay*, III, p. 419.

[59] See *Conn. Rec.*, II, pp. 54-55, for a discussion of the matter in the Connecticut General Court of October 11, 1666.

[60] Walker, W.: *Creeds, etc.*, p. 261.

a decrease in church membership. The clergy was moved by both considerations in favoring the Half-Way Covenant.

The practice in regard to the Half-Way Covenant was greatly modified by the influence of the "Great Awakening" of 1740 in the eighteenth century, and was wholly done away with during the nineteenth, through gradual disuse due to a change of feeling. The results of the Half-Way Covenant were on the whole evil, as it afforded a position within the church to many who were careless in matters of religion and diminished the emphasis which the church had formerly put upon full Christian discipleship.[61]

After considerable agitation over the whole question of the "Half-Way Covenant," in no wise simplified by the coming together of the two colonies in 1665, with New Haven opposed to the half-way plan and strongly antagonistic to such a union, the General Court passed a law which gave toleration for both supporters and opponents. This law of May 13, 1669, declared that Congregational churches were approved as they had been in the past, but in view of the persons who were otherwise persuaded, "this court doth declare that all such persons being also approved according to law as orthodox and sound in the fundamentals of the Christian religion may have allowance of their persuasion and profession in church ways or assemblies without disturbance."[62] The opposition in Hartford Church, in whose ranks a quarrel had existed for years, took immediate advantage of this law and separated.[63]

Church legislation which may be said to have materially affected the religious instruction of Connecticut children before the Saybrook Platform, drawn up in 1712, was comprised in the Cambridge Platform of 1648 and in the conclusions of the

[61] See Stiles, Henry R.: *The History of Ancient Windsor,* Ch. IX, for an excellent discussion of the Half-Way Covenant matter as it affected Windsor.
[62] *Conn. Rec.,* II, 1665-1677, p. 109.
[63] *Ibid.,* p. 120.

ministerial conference upon the "half-way" view in 1657. The opening period of religious life in Connecticut was in the main characterized by the severity of its doctrine and by its humiliating views of human sinfulness. The toleration act of 1669 was a political expedient rather than an evidence of a more liberal type of theology upon the part of the dominant orthodox people. There was a repudiation of all means of grace and an utter dependence upon the sovereignty of God. Personal religious experience was the subject of the most careful scrutiny. The Bible was reverenced and the utmost respect and authority attributed to it. The legislation of the churches was the articulate expression of the underlying theory of the church of that day.

III.

Status of Religious Education, 1636-1712.

A. IN THE HOME

FAMILY worship and catechizing, accompanied by other religious instruction, had an important place in the home life of children in the seventeenth century. The religious instruction given in the household of Governor Eaton was probably duplicated in many early Connecticut families. Cotton Mather reports a servant of Eaton as saying that morning and evening prayers were observed with appropriate comments. Special attention was given to the Sabbath and to preparation for its services. Instruction was given upon points of religion and questions were raised which required study.[1]

An answer to the query made by the Committee for Trade and Plantation, written in 1680, stated that not only was great care taken for the instruction of the people by ministers, but also "by masters of families instructing and catechizing their children and servants, being so required to do by law."[2] The custom of some sort of family worship was probably adhered to by most families in early New England, with what definite results it is difficult to ascertain.

The language of the courts indicates that parents and masters frequently neglected the duty of religious instruction. The truth of the matter was that the parents were not prepared to instruct their children. Andrews states: "Of education for the laity at this time in New England there was scarcely more than the rudiments of reading, writing, and arithmetic."[3] The section in the Connecticut Code of 1650 entitled "Children," and given

[1] Mather, Cotton: *Magnalia* (ed. 1853), I, p. 153.
[2] *Conn. Rec.*, III, 1678-1689, Appendix XXX, p. 300.
[3] Andrews, C. M.: *The Fathers of New England*, p. 84.

in some completeness in Chapter II, required all parents and masters to teach their children to read and to know the capital laws. In addition, all masters of families were required, at least once each week, to catechize their children and servants in the grounds and principles of religion, and if any should be unable to do so much, the law provided that they should at least train such children and apprentices to learn some "short orthodox catechism, without book," that they might be able to answer to questions that should be propounded to them out of such catechisms by their parents or masters or by any of the selectmen.[4] A similar provision was made in the New Haven Code of 1655.[5] Although intended to stem the tide of religious indifference, there is little evidence that these laws produced the desired effect.

The content of religious education of early colonial days was colored by the sombre hue of the theology of that period. The child was instructed that he was wholly depraved. The doctrinal part of the Westminster Confession of Faith, which embraced that teaching, was adopted "for the substance thereof" by the Cambridge Synod of 1648. Our first parents, Adam and Eve, "being the root of all mankind, the guilt of this sin was imputed, and the same death in sin and corrupted nature conveyed to all their posterity descending from them by ordinary generation. From this original corruption, whereby we are utterly indisposed, disabled, and made opposite to all good, and wholly inclined to all evil, do proceed all actual transgressions. This corruption of nature, during this life, doth remain in those that are regenerated; and although it be through Christ pardoned and mortified, yet both itself and all the motions thereof are truly and properly sin."[6]

[4] *Conn. Rec.*, I, 1636-1665, pp. 520-521.

[5] *New Haven's Settling in New England and Some Lawes, etc.* Printed in *N. H. Col. Rec.*, 1653-1664, p. 583.

[6] Westminster Confession, VI.

The inability of man to help himself was another discouraging teaching of the religious education of that day: "Man, by his fall into a state of sin, hath wholly lost all ability of will to any spiritual good accompanying salvation; so as a natural man, being altogether averse from that good and dead in sin, is not able by his own strength to convert himself or prepare himself thereunto."[7]

In addition to the doctrines of original sin and inability, the church taught that only a part of mankind was to be saved. Only those whom God has predestined in his appointed and accepted time effectually to call, could look for salvation. This call is of God's free and special grace and man can do no other than remain passive in the matter.[8] Similar doctrines were contained in the Saybrook Platform of 1708, with proof-texts cited as authority.

It was not only a period of harsh doctrine, but it was also a day of severe discipline, with considerable emphasis upon corporal punishment. The stern measures in vogue in both school and home were disapproved by Cotton Mather. His son records: "The slavish way of education carried on with raving and kicking and scourging (in schools as well as families) he looked upon as a dreadful judgment of God on the world; he thought the practice abominable and expressed a mortal aversion to it."[9]

The method of religious instruction was chiefly catechetical by way of explication of the Scriptures and doctrine. Cotton Mather is reported to have described heaven and hell to his children and set before them the consequences of their good or bad behavior. He strongly charged his children to shun sin and to love God and Christ. "He would pray with them in his study and make them the witness of the agonies and strong

[7] Westminster Confession, IX.
[8] *Ibid.*, X.
[9] Mather, Samuel: *Life of Cotton Mather*, p. 17.

cries with which he, on their behalf, addressed the throne of grace." He made much use of catechizing and the repetition of sermons to the children.[10] His son, Samuel Mather, describes the conscientious efforts of his father in the education of his children. "He began betimes to entertain them with delightful stories, especially scriptural ones; and he would ever conclude with some lesson of piety, bidding them to learn that lesson from the story. And thus, every day at the table, he used himself to tell some entertaining tale before he rose; and endeavor to make it useful to the olive-plants about the table. When his children accidentally at any time came in his way, it was his custom to let fall some sentence or other, that might be monitory or profitable to them. This matter occasioned labor, study and contrivance. He betimes tried to engage his children in exercises of piety; and especially secret prayer, for which he gave them very plain and brief directions, and would suggest unto them the petitions which he would have them make before the Lord, and which he would therefore explain to their apprehension and capacity. And he would often call upon them, 'Child, don't you forget every day to go alone and pray as I have directed you.' "[11]

The rigid Calvinistic cast of the religious education of the day produced incidents such as Judge Sewall recorded in his diary in January, 1695: "When I came in, past 7 at night, my wife met me in the entry and told me Betty had surprised them. I was surprised at the abruptness of the relation. It seems Betty Sewall had given some signs of dejection and sorrow; but a little while after dinner she burst out into an amazing cry, which caused all the family to cry too. Her mother asked her the reason; she gave none; at last said she was afraid she should go to hell, her sins were not pardoned. She was first wounded by my reading a sermon of Mr. Norton's, Text, Ye

[10] Mather, Samuel: *Life of Cotton Mather*, p. 18.
[11] *Ibid.*, p. 15.

shall seek me and shall not find me. And those words in the sermon, Ye shall seek me and die in your sins, ran in her mind and terrified her greatly. And staying at home, she read out of Mr. Cotton Mather—Why hath Satan filled thy heart—which increased her fear. Her mother asked her whether she prayed. She answered, yes, but feared her prayers were not heard because her sins were not pardon'd."

On January 10, 1688, Sewall records: "It falls to my daughter Elizabeth's share to read the 24. of Isaiah, which she doth with many tears, and not being very well and the contents of the chapter and sympathy with her draw tears from me also."[12] On the Sabbath day following, January 12, 1688, the entry is: "Richard Dumer, a flourishing youth of 9 years old, dies of small pocks. I tell Sam. of it and what need be had to prepare for death and therefore to endeavor really to pray when he said over the Lord's Prayer. He seemed not much to mind, eating an apple; but when he came to say, Our Father, he burst out into a bitter cry and when I asked what was the matter and he could speak, he burst out into a bitter cry and said he was afraid he should die. I prayed with him and read Scriptures comforting against death, as, O death where is thy sting, etc."[13]

Gloomy religious teaching was apt to engender a melancholy and introspective kind of religious consciousness, such as is seen in the writings of Nathaniel Mather. Cotton Mather said: "He read many savory books about faith and repentance and conversion, and he transcribed many notes therefrom, not resting satisfied within himself until he had some experience of a true regeneration. Among other workings of his heart at this age, his papers have such things as these: 'Reasons for my speedy closing with Jesus Christ.—First, It's the command of Jesus Christ that I should come unto him. Secondly, Jesus Christ invites me also in Matt. xi, 28, "Come unto me." Thirdly,

[12] Diary of Samuel Sewall, *Coll. of Mass. Hist. Soc.*, V, Fifth Series, p. 308.
[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 308-309.

He hath laid me under many obligations to turn unto him, in that he hath recovered me from sickness so often and given me a curious study. Fourthly, In that I have vowed unto the Lord, if he would do so and so for me, I would make a solemn covenant with him and endeavor to serve him.' And again elsewhere, 'O that God would help me to seek him while I am young! O that he would give unto me his grace! However, I will lay myself down at his feet. If he save me, I shall be happy forever; if he damn me, I must justify him.' "[14]

On the Lord's Day, November 7, 1697, Cotton Mather recorded in his diary: "I took my little daughter Katy into my study; and there I told my child that I am to die shortly, and she must, when I am dead, remember every thing that I said unto her. I set before her the sinful and woeful condition of her nature and I charged her to pray in secret places every day, without ceasing, that God for the sake of Jesus Christ would give her a new heart and pardon her sins and make her a servant of his." This daughter was born September 1, 1689, and was therefore nine years of age at this writing. The idea of total depravity was thus forced upon children of tender years in all its sombre circumstance.[15]

It would, however, be unfair to create the opinion that the Puritan fathers of New England lacked a sense of beauty, were harsh in their personal relations or were devoid of any romantic feeling and that these qualities produced a bigoted religious life. These are false notions of the Puritan which have gone abroad in the modern world. They were pioneers. Every day was a life-and-death matter. They were months from their home base, in the midst of a strange people and in a new land. Their purpose of creating a Christian commonwealth compelled them to put duty before pleasure. If they had little time to

[14] Mather, Cotton: *Magnalia* (ed. 1853), II, p. 160.
[15] "Diary of Cotton Mather," *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, Seventh Series, VII, p. 239.

create beauty it was not because they had no appreciation of it. Their ideas of beauty wrought out in furniture and architecture speaks for itself today. Simple in form and conception the work of their hands is among our chief American contributions to beauty. The accusation that they were too austere in their personal relations is refuted by the fact that nothing but love and loyalty of the finest quality could have cemented them together and kept them true not only in family life but to their struggling theocracy in the early decades of settlement. In answer to the charge that they lacked romantic feeling one need only point to the adventurous course they pursued. It took daring of a high order to behead a King of England, to settle in Holland, to cross to this country in frail vessels taking weeks to accomplish the voyage and to attempt to build the City of God amid savages on a rockbound coast. Says Stuart Sherman of the Puritan: "On the long slow progress of the race out of Egypt into the Promised Land, they prepare the line of march, they look after the arms and munitions, they bring up the supplies, they scout out the land, they rise up early in the morning, they watch at night, they bear the burdens of leadership, while the children, the careless young people, and the old people who have never grown up, are playing or fiddling or junketing on the fringes of the march. They are never popular among those who place pleasure first; for they are always rounding up stragglers, recalling loiterers, and preaching up the necessity of toil and courage and endurance. They are not popular; but they are not inhuman. The violet smells to them as it does to other men; and rest and recreation are as sweet."[16]

The instruction of the young in such a country naturally would be a serious business, but it was not necessarily the grim exercise one would be led to infer from Samuel Mather's account or from Sewall's diary. Wordsworth's picture of catechizing

[16] Sherman, Stuart Pratt: *The Genius of America,* p. 42.

in his youth in England might also pass as a true description of what went on in early Connecticut homes and churches.

> From Little down to Least, in due degree,
> Around the Pastor, each in new-wrought vest,
> Each with a vernal posy at his breast,
> We stood, a trembling, earnest Company!
> With low soft murmur, like a distant bee,
> Some spake, by thought-perplexing fears betrayed;
> And some a bold unerring answer made:
> How fluttered then thy anxious breast for me,
> Beloved Mother!

Family worship and training suffered some decay in the latter part of the seventeenth century. The Reforming Synod of 1679-1680, composed of the elders and messengers of the Massachusetts churches called into conference by the Massachusetts General Court, in publishing their results, noted: "As to what concerns families and the government thereof, there is much amiss. There are many families that do not pray to God constantly, morning and evening, and many more wherein the Scriptures are not daily read, that so the word of Christ may dwell richly in them."[17] What was true of family life in Massachusetts probably was true in Connecticut as well.

The amount and quality of religious instruction in Connecticut homes naturally differed with the individual families. Many of the early settlers were persons of some educational advantages. As the decades passed, the ratio of educated men to the total number of inhabitants grew smaller. Consequently religious instruction in the home suffered. Religious instruction had so noticeably declined by the year 1684 that the General Court deplored the neglect of catechizing children and servants and the want of family prayer.[18]

[17] Report of the Synod of 1679 to the General Court of Mass. Bay; printed in Walker, W.: *Creeds, etc.*, see p. 429.

[18] *Conn. Rec.*, III, 1678-1689, p. 148.

The greater part of religious education in early Connecticut homes was carried on by catechizing from the many catechisms then used and by the informal teaching in the family prayer group. Cotton Mather, in writing of the life of John Cotton, asserted: "The children of New England are to this day most usually fed with his excellent catechism, which is entitled 'Milk for Babes.' "[19] The entrance requirements of the schools at certain times made home teaching of the Bible a necessity. The General Court enacted in 1690: "This Court, considering the necessity and great advantage of good literature, do order and appoint that there shall be two free schools kept and maintained in this Colony for the teaching of all such children as shall come there, after they can first read the psalter, to teach such reading, writing, arithmetic, the Latin and Greek tongues, the one at Hartford, the other at New Haven, the masters whereof shall be chosen by the magistrates and ministers of the said county, and shall be inspected and again displaced by them if they see cause."[20] Such requirements would necessitate a certain amount of home instruction in the Scriptures, which, because they were plentiful and had general approval, were used as reading books until the nineteenth century. The amount of spiritual good thus derived from the use of the Scriptures as reading materials is, of course, problematical. The Connecticut pioneer, strict in discipline and holding to the stern lines of a Calvinistic system, sought to rear his children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, that learning and piety should not perish in the grave of his fathers.

B. IN THE CHURCH

The elders of the churches in the first century of settlement in New England were aware of their responsibility in matters of religious training. Cotton Mather said of the New England

[19] Mather, Cotton: *Magnalia* (ed. 1853), I, p. 280.
[20] *Conn. Rec.*, IV, 1689-1706, p. 31.

ministers: "Few pastors of mankind ever took such pains at catechising, as have been taken by our New English divines. Now, let any man having read the most judicious and elaborate catechisms ever published, a lesser and larger by Mr. Norton, a lesser and larger by Mr. Mather, several by Mr. Cotton, one by Mr. Davenport, one by Mr. Stone, one by Mr. Norris, one by Mr. Noyes, one by Mr. Fisk, several by Mr. Eliot, one by Mr. Sea-born Cotton, a large one by Mr. Fitch, and say whether true divinity were ever better handled, or whether they were not the truest sons of the Church of England who thus maintained its 'fundamental articles,' which are so many of them first subscribed, and then denied and confuted by some that would monopolize that name unto themselves."[21]

The first churches and towns in Connecticut were fortunate in the leadership they possessed in matters spiritual and ecclesiastical. Hartford had Hooker and Stone; Windsor, Warham and Hewet; Wethersfield, Mr. Prudden; Guilford, Mr. Whitfield; while New Haven had John Davenport. Trumbull remarked that scarcely any part of the church had so many stars shining in so small a firmament.[22]

Churches, although few in number, were sufficient to care for the population. At the time of the union of Connecticut and New Haven colonies in 1665, the colony contained about seventeen hundred families, or approximately eight or nine thousand inhabitants. About twenty ministers constantly cared for these people, making on an average one minister for about every eighty-five families.[23] Twenty-one churches were reported in 1680 to the Committee for Trade and Foreign Plantation.[24] Trumbull stated that "before the Union there were fifteen churches in Connecticut, exclusive of those which had been

[21] Mather, Cotton: *Magnalia* (ed. 1853), II, p. 179.
[22] Trumbull, Benjamin: *Hist. of Conn.*, 1818, I, p. 287.
[23] *Ibid.*, I, p. 287.
[24] *Conn. Rec.*, III, 1678-1689, p. 300.

formed upon Long Island. There had been thirty-one ministers in the colony, of whom about twenty-five or -six had been installed or ordained. Twenty-one were ministering to the people at the time of the Union; nineteen of whom had been installed or ordained. The other two, Mr. Noyes and Mr. Collins, were afterwards settled in the ministry, in the towns where, for some years, they had been laboring."[25] The name "Congregational" was not usually applied to the churches in the first decades of settlement. An established church was generally known as the "Church of Christ." As other denominations came in, the words Presbyterian and Congregational were used more extensively by way of distinction.

A description of the theory and practice of church procedure in early New England is preserved for us in the inquiry sent to New England by the Congregational ministers in the homeland, entitled "A Letter of Many Ministers in Old England, requesting the judgment of their Reverend Brethren in New England concerning Nine Positions, Written Anno. Dom. 1637, Together with their Answer thereunto returned, Anno 1639, And the Reply made unto the said Answer, and sent over unto them, Anno. 1640."[26] The queries as stated in the letter were:

1. That a stinted form of prayer, or set liturgy, is unlawful.

2. That it is not lawfull to join in prayers, or receive the sacrament where a stinted liturgy is used, or as we conceive your meaning to be in this as in the former question, viz., where that stinted liturgy is used.

3. That the children of godly and approved Christians are not to be baptized untill their parents be set members of some particular congregation.

4. That the parents themselves, though of approved piety, are not to be received to the Lord's supper until they be admitted as set members.

[25] Trumbull, Benjamin: *Hist. of Conn.*, 1818, I, p. 313.
[26] A copy is in the Yale University Library.

5. That the power of excommunication, etc., is so in the body of the church, that what the major part shall allow, that must be done, though the pastors and governors, and part of their assembly, be of another mind, and peradventure upon more substantial reasons.

6. That none are to be admitted as set members, but they must promise not to depart or remove, unless the congregation will give leave.

7. That a minister is so a minister to a particular congregation, that if they dislike him unjustly, or leave him, he ceaseth to be a minister.

8. That a minister cannot perform any ministerial act in another congregation.

9. That members in one congregation may not communicate in another.[27]

The occasion of this correspondence is stated in the preface as follows: "These differences betwixt the loving brethren of Old England and New England had not been made thus notorious, if some, who cry up the church way in New England as the only way of God, had not been forward to blow them abroad in the world."[28]

The early Connecticut minister was the leader of his people. He not only reproved and comforted his flock, but he also advised them in nearly every concern of their lives. As he was generally the best educated man in the town, he was esteemed its chief citizen. Respect and reverence did not, however, relieve him from hardship. Salaries ranged from fifty pounds upward, and the lot of many a country parson was difficult in the extreme. As a rule, firewood was furnished and the pay was given entirely or partly in grain at current prices.[29] The first minister to serve a parish was generally given a parcel of land

[27] See page A 3.

[28] See preface to same; also Felt, Joseph B.: *The Ecclesiastical History of New England*, I, p. 277, note.

[29] Fowler, William Chauncey: *Hist. of Durham*, p. 31; Huntington, Rev. E. B.: *Hist. of Stamford*, p. 127.

as a special inducement.[30] Lots were set aside by many towns for the use of the minister.[31] In addition to land and a dwelling, many towns gave a sum of money to the minister as a "settlement" or bonus at the beginning of his ministry.[32] Some pastors supplemented their meagre wage by taking in private pupils. A custom quite generally followed was for a candidate to draw up an elaborate statement of conditions as a basis for agreement with the parish issuing the call,[33] or for the parish to send a similar document to the candidate.[34] The colonial ministry was true to its task, and many pastorates of forty and fifty, and even sixty, years are known. Eliphalet Williams was pastor at Glastonbury for fifty-five years. In Groton, the Baptist church was served by three generations of clergymen for a period of one hundred and twenty-five years.[35]

The Sabbath day services began about nine o'clock. Members were called to worship by the beating of a drum, the blowing of a conch shell or horn, or the display of a flag. Hartford could boast a bell as early as 1641. Upon arrival at the church, members of families separated. The men and women sat on different sides of the house. Tithingmen kept watch during service lest any should become drowsy. Boys were seated in the gallery or below it, with a special church officer to keep order among them. Note-taking on the sermon was an established custom, and some churches provided swing tables on the pews for that purpose. Not infrequently the head of a household was given permission to construct the family pew. New London on January 16, 1670/1, voted that "Mr. Edward Palmes hath liberty granted

[30] Hughes, Sarah E.: *Hist. of East Haven,* p. 70.

[31] Bronson, Henry: *Hist. of Waterbury,* p. 203.

[32] Orcutt, Rev. Samuel: *Hist. of the Old Town of Derby,* p. 134.

[33] See Camp, David N.: *Hist. of New Britain,* for a statement by Rev. William Burnham to the Farmington Society, pp. 92, 93.

[34] Orcutt, Rev. Samuel: *Hist. of the Old Town of Stratford and the City of Bridgeport,* I, pp. 170-171.

[35] Andrews, C. M.: *Colonial Folkways.* The chapter on "The Cure for Souls" contains an account of the life and work of the colonial ministry.

to make a seat for himself and relations at the north end of the pulpit."[36] The meetinghouses were generally unheated, and so cold in winter that water for baptism was not infrequently frozen. The men were required to bring arms and ammunition with them to the meetinghouse, that they might be prepared at all times. In anticipation of trouble with the Indians, Wallingford ordered on August 27, 1675, that "the select guard serve as sentinels on the Sabbath; the rest of the town ward four men every Sabbath and two every week day. . . . This until further order, provided notwithstanding the select guard is not hereby freed from warding on the week days."[37]

The congregation having arrived, service was begun by prayer. The early settlers, as indicated above, wished to escape all connection with the episcopacy, and consequently one finds hardly any vestiges of liturgical expressions in their recorded utterances. Increase Mather, writing in 1719, remarked of the churches: "They have no liturgy composed for them; and much less have they any imposed upon them. The pastors reckon, that the representation of their people's condition in prayers, with fit expressions of their own choosing, is a necessary gift and work of the evangelical ministry."[38] Something of the nature of these long "unstinted" prayers is revealed by Lechford, writing in 1643, who remarked: "And although conceived prayer be good and holy, and so public explications and applications of the word, and also necessary both in and out of season; yet for the most part it may be feared they dull, amaze, confound, and discourage the weak and ignorant, (which are the most of men), when they are in ordinary performed too tediously, or with the neglect of the word read, and other premeditated forms inculcated, and may tend to more

[36] Hurd, D. Hamilton: *Hist. of New London County*, p. 147.

[37] Quoted in Beach, Joseph Perkins: *Hist. of Cheshire from 1694 to 1840*, p. 29.

[38] Mather, Cotton: *Ratio Disciplinae*, p. 46.

ignorance and inconvenience than many good men are aware of."[39] John Greenwood had written a book entitled, *More worke for Priests; Or An Answer to George Giffords pretended defense of Read Prayers and devised Litourgies, etc.*, printed in 1640, which inveighed against "counterfeit sacrifices" and affirmed that "imposing men's writings upon public assemblies, to have them read over by number and stint, or any other way, as a worship of God in stead of true invocation, is a mere devise of man and so carnal worship."[40] Previously a work on *The Unlawfulness of Reading in Prayer*, by Sabine Staresmore, had been printed in England in 1612.

After the first prayer, the teacher, or pastor, where the church could afford only one minister, read the Scripture with pertinent comments. "Dumb reading," or reading without exposition or remarks, was looked upon with disfavor. The Scripture reading done, another prayer was offered. Mather stated that "the former and larger prayer of the pastor finished, then . . . a psalm usually succeeds."[41] Ainsworth's psalms with notes were the most commonly used songbooks in the early days. When the change was made from Ainsworth to the New England Version or Bay Psalm Book, the usual practice was for the pastor or such person as he should designate to read a line or two in order that all might sing alike.[42] The custom grew quite common, owing to the scarcity of books. The people generally sang "in such grave tunes as are most usual in the churches of our nation."[43] Singing declined in quality until the resumption of the use of notes became general in the eighteenth century. Music became largely a matter of memory. The Bay Psalm Book, published in 1640, which was largely used during the

[39] Lechford, Thomas: *Plaine Dealing* (ed. Trumbull, 1867), pp. 130-131.
[40] Greenwood, John: *More worke for Priests*, 1640, p. 10.
[41] Mather, Cotton: *Ratio Disciplinae*, p. 52.
[42] Hood, George: *A History of Music in New England*, p. 185.
[43] Mather, Cotton: *Ratio Disciplinae*, p. 52.

seventeenth century, contained no tunes whatever. Sternhold and Hopkins' metrical version of the Psalms, first published in an edition with tunes in 1566, was used in some congregations.[44] Ainsworth had published, as early as 1612, a metrical edition of the psalms containing several tunes.[45] The early metrical versions were very often bound with folio editions of the Bible and therefore not suitable for use by the whole congregation.

After the singing of the psalm, the sermon followed, which Cotton Mather stated was "about an hour. . . . Nevertheless they did not so limit themselves unto an hour, but that if they saw occasion, they would enlarge beyond it, and plead (as Austin did) the example of Paul preaching until midnight, for their preaching a good way into the second hour."[46] Many ministers set an hourglass upon the pulpit, and not infrequently would turn it over and preach a second glass! The service closed with prayer and the benediction.[47]

In the summer time during the interval between the first and second services, the people would adjourn to eat their lunch in the graveyard or some spot near the meetinghouse. The men talked crops, and the women and girls gossiped about domestic affairs. Churchgoing was a social as well as a religious affair. During the blasts of winter the question of warmth and shelter was a serious matter, and in many towns those who could afford them built Sabbath-Day houses to be used in the intervals between services. The Sabbath-Day houses were built from ten to twelve feet wide and twenty or twenty-five feet long. They were one story high and were provided with a stone fireplace in the middle. Sometimes a partition divided the room midway in the fireplace, for the accommodation of two families. Permission to erect these structures was voted by the town. A

[44] See account of this version in Chapter IV.

[45] An original copy printed in Amsterdam in 1612 is in the Yale Library.

[46] Mather, Cotton: *Ratio Disciplinae*, pp. 57, 58.

[47] See Walker, G. L.: *Hist. of the First Church of Hartford*, p. 230, for an account of church services in early Hartford.

few chairs, a table, and some dishes and utensils for warming food constituted the furniture. The Connecticut mother made provision for her flock for the whole day. While lunch was being eaten, the sermon would be gone over in detail, with frequent reference to the notes taken in the morning. The head of the household would conduct devotions for the family, and when time came for afternoon worship the whole company would again repair to the frigid meetinghouse to shiver through another discourse.[48] Goshen had as many as four of these Sabbath-Day houses on the green as late as 1771.[49]

The second church service of the day began about two o'clock in the afternoon and was substantially a repetition of the morning service. If a church had two preaching elders, they exchanged places in the afternoon service, the pastor opening with exposition and a prayer and the teacher delivering the discourse.[50] A contribution was then taken, members coming forward in some churches in the order of their social ranking. Baptism followed the close of the afternoon's preaching if any children were brought forward for that rite. Lechford stated that baptism was performed "by either pastor or teacher in the deacon's seat and the most eminent place in the church, next under the elder's seat. The pastor most commonly makes a speech or exhortation to the church and parents concerning Baptism, and then prayeth before and after. It is done by washing or sprinkling. One of the parents being of the church, the child may be baptised, and the baptism is in the name of the Father and the Son and of the Holy Ghost. No sureties are required."[51] After baptism, if any, came the contribution. In New Haven First Church, and probably elsewhere, wampum was sometimes received as a contribution to church support.[52]

[48] Fowler, William Chauncey: *Hist. of Durham,* p. 97.
[49] Hibbard, Rev. A. G.: *Hist. of the Town of Goshen,* p. 85.
[50] Lechford: *Plaine Dealing* (ed. Trumbull, 1867), p. 47.
[51] *Ibid.,* p. 48.
[52] Walker, G. L.: *Hist. of the First Church in Hartford,* 1884, p. 230.

Members were seated according to their social position. Those having charge of the seating were to consider the age, parentage, and general social standing attaching to the various members, and to arrange them accordingly. The earliest record of a New Haven Court action relative to seating is recorded in the minutes of a General Court, "held the 10th of March, 1646." At that time, "the names of the people as they were seated in the meetinghouse were read in court; and it was ordered that they should be recorded."[53]

Glastonbury ordered the "dignity" of pews as follows:

1. The pews next to the pulpit (exclusive of the minister's pew) to be the first seat and the highest.
2. The second pew to be the second seat.
3. The fore seat (in the body of the house) to be the third seat.
4. The third pew and the second seat to be equal.
5. The fourth pew from the pulpit and the third seat to be equal, etc.

Every seat was classified. Men and their wives were seated separately in Glastonbury until 1757.[54] East Hartford continued the "dignifying" of seats until 1824.[55] This custom was general throughout New England.[56]

Boys seemed to find difficulty in fitting into this stiff and formal arrangement, and the records contain frequent entries of provisions made for their management. At a general town meeting at Hartford on October 23, 1643, "It was ordered that if any boy shall be taken playing or misbehaving himself at the time of public exhortation, either in the meetinghouse or about the walls without, by two witnesses, for the first time

[53] *N. H. Col. Rec.*, 1638-1649, p. 302. See also Bacon, Leonard: *Thirteen Historical Discourses*, pp. 310-311, for the same reference.

[54] Chapin, Alonzo B.: *Glastonbury*, p. 79.

[55] Goodwin, Joseph O.: *East Hartford*, p. 132.

[56] Orcutt, Rev. Samuel: *Hist. of the Old Town of Derby*, p. 117; Huntington, Rev. E. B.: *Hist. of Stamford*, pp. 126, 135.

shall be examined and punished at the present publicly before the assembly depart," etc.[57]

Church attendance was regular because the people for the most part were religiously inclined and because all inhabitants were required to be present at public worship. The characteristic town organization, with the church formed of the same group as the town, placed in the hands of the ministers tremendous social and political pressure to assure church support.

Discipline was an important matter in the colonial church, and many and diverse were the problems that confronted church officers. Thomas Minor of Stonington in 1654 having been sent for "to be reconciled to the church," offered his apologies for hasty speech, which seemed to satisfy those in authority, for he recorded: "All there took satisfaction in my acknowledging the height of my spirit. Secondly, that I saw my evil in my sudden and rash speaking to Mr. Blinman and withal there was acknowledgment on the church's part that I was wronged, so all was passed by on my side and the Church's with promise on both parties that all former offenses should be buried."[58]

In regard to actual instruction given in church to children, the General Court stated in 1680, in an answer to a series of queries of the Lords of the Committee for Trade and Foreign Plantation, sent in 1679, that "Great care is taken for the instruction of the people in the Christian religion, by ministers catechising of them and preaching to them twice every Sabbath day and sometimes on Lecture days."[59] Trumbull records that the ministers were diligent in catechizing and instructing the children and young people both privately and publicly, paying constant attention to the religion of their families.[60] Lechford stated, however, that there was little reading or catechizing

[57] Hartford Town Votes, in *Coll. of Conn. Hist. Soc.*, VI, pp. 65-66.
[58] Minor, Thomas: *Diary*, 1653-1684, p. 13.
[59] *Conn. Rec.*, III, 1678-1689, pp. 299-300.
[60] Trumbull, Benjamin: *Hist. of Conn.*, 1818, I, pp. 281-282.

Definitions. *Diuiſions.*

Chriſtians. Their knowledge. The Godhead.

1 Chriſtians are a companie or number of beleeuers, which by a willing couenaunt made with their God, are vnder the gouernement of God and Chriſt, and keepe his Lawes in one holie communion: Becauſe they are redeemed by Chriſte vnto holines & happines for euer, from whiche they were fallen by the ſinne of Adam.

Chriſtians whiche should leade a godlie life
- By knowing God and the dueties of godlineſſe.
- By keeping thoſe dueties.

2 The knowledge of God and godlines is a right and ſtedfaſt iudgement of his Godheade, and moſte bleſſed ſtate: & of his whole will in his worde: which doeth gouerne vs wholy to do all things wiſely, as his worde doeth binde vs.

Knowledge of Chriſtians, as firſt
- Of God: as of
  - The Godhead.
  - The all ſufficiencie.
- Of the dueties of godlines.

3 By the Godhead we meane the right Iudgemēt which we should haue, concerning his Name, both in vnitie and Trinitie, which in nature and eſſence, is paſt finding out, and vnſearcheable.

Of the Godhead.
- In the vnitie of the Trinitie.
- In his vnchaungeable nature.

4 The vnitie of the Godhead is one and the ſame nature of the three perſones, which hath neither ſeparation, nor vnlikenes of partes.

The vnitie of the Trinitie is
- One God a liuing Spirit.
- Three perſones.

5 The Trinitie is the difference or diſtinction of the three perſones, in perfect order and mutuall working without diuiſion of nature, or vnlikeneſſe of partes.

Three perſons.
- Father.
- Of the Father, as
  - His onely begotten Sonne: as the holy Ghoſt proceding of the Father and of the Sonne.

From Robert Browne's *A Booke which sheweth the life and manners of all true Christians, etc.* The emphasis upon definition and division was characteristic of the early Puritan and Separatist movements.

in New England, and that there was no catechizing of children, "except in Concord church and in other places of those admitted in their receiving." The reason given was, that although the church had trial of the knowledge, faith, and repentance of those entering, yet they wanted a direct Scripture for minister's catechizing. Lechford rejoiced, however, that the Massachusetts General Court enjoined such catechizing in June, 1641.[61] He remarked regarding the catechizing of candidates for church membership: "I doubt . . . whether so much time should be spent in particular catechising those that are admitted to the communion of the church, either men or women; or that they should make long speeches; or when they come publicly to be admitted, any should speak contradictorily, or in recommendation of any, unless before the Elders upon just occasion."[62] He deplored the departure from the use of the set forms of the English church and asserted "That many thousands in this country have forgotten the very principles of religion, which they were daily taught in England by set forms and scriptures read, as the psalms, first and second lessons, the ten commandments, the creeds and public catechisings."[63]

It has been noticed in Chapter II, on legislation, that the General Court in 1680 had further provided for the religious training of the young by their ministers, through enacting: "That it be recommended to the ministry of this colony to catechise the youth in their respective places that are under twenty years of age, in the Assembly of Divines Catechism, or some other orthodox catechism, on the Sabbath days."[64]

The weekly lecture, generally held on Thursday, was one of the important church meetings in early Connecticut. Religious exhortation and Scripture exposition were, for the most

[61] *Mass. Rec.*, I, 1628-1641, p. 328.
[62] Lechford, Thomas: *Plaine Dealing* (ed. Trumbull, 1867), pp. 129, 130.
[63] *Ibid.*, p. 130.
[64] *Conn. Rec.*, III, 1678-1689, p. 65.

part, the content of these midweek services, although the Rev. John Cotton in Boston covered divers topics. A wider latitude in choice of subjects was allowed upon lecture days than was allowed to the regular Sunday service. Walker suggests that "it was very likely the anticipation of a free handling of matters coming home to men's business and bosoms, which gave the lecture such popularity."[65]

The Connecticut General Court, in May, 1680, enacted: "To the end that unity amongst the people may be continued and increased, and that the people may have opportunity to partake of the variety of ministerial gifts, that it be also recommended to the ministers to keep a lecture weekly, upon the fourth day of the week, in each county, as they shall agree."[66]

Lecture days were marked by being the time when punishments inflicted by the civil authority were meted out. The whipping-post, stocks, and pillory were close by the meeting-house. On June 4, 1640, the General Court ordered: "Nicholas Olmstead . . . is to stand upon the pillory at Hartford the next lecture day during the time of the lecture."[67] On March 5, 1644, the Court enacted that Susan Coles, "for her rebellious carriage toward her mistress, is to be sent to the house of correction and be kept to hard labor and coarse diet, to be brought forth the next lecture day and to be publicly corrected, and so to be corrected weekly until order be given to the contrary."[68] Penalties were also meted out to two other culprits at the same sitting of the Court, to be administered on next lecture day.

In addition to the Sabbath and lecture-day services, there were, upon occasion, days of fasting, thanksgiving, and prayers, but no holy days except the Sabbath.[69]

Church ceremonies were extremely austere. Lechford, com-

[65] Walker, G. L.: *Hist. of First Church of Hartford,* p. 233.
[66] *Conn. Rec.,* III, 1678-1689, p. 65.
[67] *Ibid.,* I, 1636-1665, p. 50.
[68] *Ibid.,* p. 124.
[69] Lechford, Thomas: *Plaine Dealing* (ed. Trumbull, 1867), p. 52.

menting upon the practice at funerals about 1640, stated that nothing was read nor any funeral sermon made, but all those in the neighborhood, or a good company of them, came together by the tolling of the bell and bore the dead solemnly to the grave and stood by during the interment.[70] Marriages in the opening decades of Connecticut history lacked the religious ceremonies of later days, marriage being held to be a purely civil transaction. Gradually marriage came to be regarded as a religious ceremony also and in October, 1694, we find the Connecticut General Court granting liberty to ordained ministers to join in marriage such persons as were by law qualified.[71]

Children of the seventeenth century probably learned quite as much by the undirected and informal teaching they absorbed by observing church usages and hearing sermons, discussions, and prayers not directly prepared for them, as they did by the formal catechizings carried on for their benefit. The severity and sternness of the Puritan church, which was partly caused by the reaction from the forms of the prelacy, was also a reflection of the grim and simple ways of the pioneer life. In the hard lot of the early settlers there was no place for soft living or soft doctrine. In a church environment fraught with the doctrines of total depravity, moral inability, and partial atonement, where church services were conducted along the severest lines, the children of the first century in Connecticut received their spiritual and moral instruction.

The church very early set about evangelizing the Indians. The Code of 1650 provided that the teaching elders of the churches should go at least twice each year among the neighboring Indians to preach the gospel to them. In addition, many individuals made efforts to evangelize the natives. In 1657 John Eliot preached to the Podunks in their own tongue, and in 1660 Rev. Abraham Pierson, the minister of Branford, began preach-

[70] Lechford, Thomas: *Plaine Dealing* (ed. Trumbull, 1867), pp. 87-88.
[71] *Conn. Rec.*, IV, 1689-1706, p. 136.

ing to the Indians in that vicinity. Mr. Newton and Mr. Hooker, who were ministers in Farmington from 1648 to 1697, maintained an Indian school in that town.

The decay of religion after the first settlers began to pass away is asserted in many sermons of that day. In the election sermon of Mr. Stoughton in 1668, the speaker remarks: "How is our wine mixed with water. What coolings and abatements are there to be charged upon us in the things that are good, and that have been our glory."[72] Increase Mather, in a treatise entitled *Pray for the rising Generation,* printed in 1678, stated, "Prayer is needful in this account that conversions are become rare in this age of the world."[73] In his book, *Ichabod, Or A Discourse Shewing what cause there is to Fear that the Glory of the Lord, is departing from New-England,* printed in 1702, he exclaimed: "But are not sound conversions become rare in this day. . . . Look into our pulpits, and see if there is such a glory as once there was. New England has had teachers very eminent for learning, and no less eminent for Holiness, [and] all ministerial accomplishments. When will Boston see a Cotton and a Norton again? When will New England see a Hooker, a Shepard, a Mitchell, not to mention others?"[74]

The General Court, always in close touch with the clergy, whose influence was very strong, from time to time instructed the churches to keep a day of fasting and prayer in order to promote piety and stem the tide of irreligion. Such a day for the confession of public sins and renewal of covenants was ordered by the Court for March 22, 1675. The desolating war with King Philip was undoubtedly influential in bringing about the order for this day of humiliation and prayer. A condensed

[72] Prince, Thomas: *Christian History,* for the year 1743; quoted in a series of excerpts showing the decay of religion, p. 94.

[73] Mather, Increase: *Pray for the rising Generation,* 1678, p. 13.

[74] Mather, Increase: *Ichabod, Or A Discourse Shewing what cause there is to Fear that the Glory of the Lord, is Departing from New-England,* p. 63.

report of the matters considered at the church of Norwich on this day follows:

1. All males who are eight or nine years of age, shall be presented before the Lord in his congregation every Lord's Day to be catechised, until they be about thirteen in age.

2. Those about thirteen years of age, both male and female, shall frequent the meetings appointed in private for their instruction, while they continue under family government, or until they are received to full communion in the church.

3. Adults who do not endeavor to take hold of the covenant shall be excommunicated.

4. Brethren shall be appointed to admonish those parents who are negligent of their children.

5. The Lord's supper shall be celebrated once every six weeks.

6. Erring brethren are to be rebuked.

7. Finally, seeing we feel by woeful experience how prone we are soon to forget the works of the Lord and our vows, we do agree and determine that this writing or contents of it shall be once in every year read in a day of fasting and prayer before the Lord and his congregation; and shall leave it with our children, that they do the same in their solemn days of mourning before the Lord, that they may never forget how their fathers, ready to perish in a strange land, and with sore grief and trembling of heart, and yet hope in the tender mercy and good will of Him who dwelt in the burning bush, did thus solemnly renew their covenant with God; and that our children after us may not provoke the Lord and be cast off as a degenerate offspring, but may tremble at the commandment of God, and learn to place their hope in him, who although he hath given us a cup of astonishment to drink, yet will display his banner over them who fear him.[75]

The decline of religious life at the close of the seventeenth century may be accounted for through the degenerating tendencies consequent upon pioneer life, Indian warfare, political

[75] Quoted in Felt, Joseph B.: *The Ecclesiastical History of New England*, II, p. 665.

anxiety accompanying the Andros régime, controversies within the church, disasters due to fire and shipwreck, discouragement because of pestilence and crop failure, and the practice of the church in requiring candidates to give a long and detailed account of their religious experience. This procedure militated against many worthy members of society by denying them full membership because they were unable to give a relation of change of heart or conversion, and kept numbers out of the church. Because of the absence of vital piety in the second and third generations, the church lacked regenerate material for its membership. In addition to the exception taken by many upright people to the matter of "relations" in church, there was a theological source for much of the spiritual unrest. The doctrine of the sovereignty of God was applied with rigid logic by the church. The early Puritans, who believed with intensity that they were the elect of God, found it an easy doctrine and a source of strength in adversity. Their God would fight for them. But later generations had lost the consciousness which their fathers and grandfathers had that they were the elect, and quite naturally grew sluggish, apathetic, or despairing under the preaching of the inability of man. Says Foster, "It has never been a good way to teach men to repent to tell them that they cannot."[76] Rev. Samuel Mather, of Windsor, Connecticut, stated in a pastoral letter addressed to his parishioners in 1706: "It is a time of much degeneracy. . . . We do not walk with God as our Fathers did, and hence we are continually, from year to year, under his rebukes one way or other; and yet, alas, we turn not unto him that smites us."[77]

[76] Foster, F. H.: *A Genetic History of the New England Theology*. The second chapter of this volume, entitled "The First Century in New England, 1620-1720," gives an excellent résumé of the effect of Calvinism in the New England colonies in that period.

[77] Mather, Samuel: *The Self-Justiciary Convicted and Condemned*, 1706, pp. 3-4, in the "Epistle Dedicatory."

C. IN THE SCHOOL

Connecticut schools were patterned after the schools of the homeland. The settlers of New England were largely from the parliamentarian sections of the old counties about London and to the south and southwest of it. A study of schools in those regions furnishes a clue to their educational background. A good deal has been said to the effect that the schools of England at this period did little more than teach reading and writing, with the addition of chanting and psalm-singing, and, in some schools, the rudiments of Latin. Arthur F. Leach by extensive investigations has disproved this theory. Concerning this conception of English education at this time, he remarks: "How can these misrepresentations be repeated by one writer after another, when the smallest consideration must show their impossible absurdity? For if the schools were nothing but charities schools to teach psalm-singing, where did people like John of Salisbury or Alexander Neckam, Wycliffe and Chaucer, Skelton and Wolsey, get the education which enabled them to write the books which still remain to show us their skill in writing Latin-prose and Latin verse, their literary powers, their ability and their knowledge, not only of the Scriptures, but of classical authors? It may be said they got them not at school, but at the university. But a university, that is, a school of the higher faculties for grown-up or growing men, could not flourish if it was fed only by schools in which boys had learnt nothing more than to stumble through a few psalms."[78] Leach further states that "The truth is that alike in title and substance, the schools of England before the Reformation were much the same as those after it up to 1860."[79] The schools from which the educated men among the founders of Connecticut came included in the lower forms the *trivium*, grammar, rhetoric, and logic,

[78] Leach, Arthur F.: "Some Results of Research in the History of Education in England," *Proc. of the British Academy*, 1913-1914, p. 468.

[79] *Ibid.*, p. 477.

preceded by reading, catechetical instruction, and the rudiments of Latin. The universities taught the *quadrivium,* arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy, as well as such subjects as law, theology, and medicine.[80] Excluding the ministers of Connecticut and New Haven colonies, there were few university men among the settlers. Instruction was simpler in the colonies because of the lack of funds, equipment, and well-trained teachers. The usual small town school undoubtedly boasted a very meagre curriculum. The historic reading, writing, and arithmetic, and elementary accounting or ciphering, was as much school instruction as the vast majority of Connecticut children received. As late as 1703 Derby recorded that a Mr. James had been engaged to teach "reading and writing to such of the town as shall come for that end from Dec. 14, 1703, to the end of the following April."[81] Nothing is said of any other subjects.

Religious instruction was not a separate exercise in the schools of early Connecticut and New Haven colonies. The whole of education was for religious ends. The Connecticut Code of 1650 gives as a reason for establishing schools, that men may have a better understanding of the word of God.[82] New Haven desired her young people to be able to read the Scriptures "and other good and profitable printed books in the English tongue" and in "some competent measure to understand the main grounds and principles of Christian religion necessary to salvation."[83] To train godly and orthodox Christian citizens for church and commonwealth was the purpose of the schools. The instruction looked forward to a religious

[80] For an account of English schools, see Leach, A. F.: *Early Yorkshire Schools,* 1899, being Vol. XXVII of the Record Series of The Yorkshire Archeological Soc.; and Leach, A. F.: *English Schools at the Reformation,* 1546-1548. *The Victoria History of the Counties of England* also gives detailed accounts of schools in the several counties.

[81] Orcutt, Rev. Samuel: *Hist. of the Old Town of Derby,* p. 107.

[82] *Conn. Rec.,* I, 1636-1665, p. 554.

[83] N. H. Code of 1655, printed in *N. H. Rec.,* 1653-1664, p. 583.

life. True religion, as stated by William Hooke and John Davenport, was "A wisdom from above whereby we live unto God."[84] The task of the schoolmaster was to inculcate such a "doctrine of living well."[85]

The moral and spiritual education of Connecticut school children of the seventeenth century was obtained through reading lessons drawn from the Bible, from primers containing religious stories, precepts, and catechisms, and from the customary opening and closing exercises, accompanied by prayer. It was not uncommon to set aside a day for studying some catechism, on which the master examined the children. The child was instructed in religion at the same time he was taught to read.

The colonial school was generally a barren room, poorly heated if at all, and the teacher was a man whose severity as a disciplinarian was one of his chief qualifications. The pupils sat on rough wooden benches. There were few aids in the way of blackboards, globes, or other classroom equipment.

A hornbook, primer, various A B C devices, the Psalter, the New Testament, and the Bible were the reading books of the period. Hornbooks were used to teach the alphabet and some words of few syllables, and generally had the Lord's Prayer. Coates' *English School Master,* various catechisms and "Books on Manners," "Civility," or "Courtesy" were also used. Sometime during the ninth decade of the seventeenth century, the New England Primer was published, and came to contain much religious teaching in its later editions. As a reader it eventually surpassed all other books in the common schools.

The minister was often the school teacher, in addition to his pastoral duties, but occasionally the situation was reversed. Farmington in 1685 voted to secure a schoolmaster who could

[84] *A Catechism containing the Chief Heads of Christian Religion. Published at the desire and for the use of the Church of Christ at New Haven, by John Davenport, Pastor, and William Hooke, Teacher.*

[85] *A Short Catechism Drawn out of the Word of God, by Samuel Stone, Minister of the Word at Hartford, in Connecticut.* Boston, 1684.

"step into the pulpit to be helpful there, in time of exigency."[86] Under date of December 17, 1645, the Guilford town records bear an entry that "The ministers with the concurrence of and consent of the town have promised to be helpful in the coming thither to teach sometime but will not be bound to any certain day."[87] John Davis preached as well as taught in Hartford in 1655. The town voted money for him "for preaching and schooling" on May 28, 1656.[88] Some idea of the schoolmaster's remuneration may be gained from the fact that Wallingford in 1711 agreed with one Henry Bates to be schoolmaster for fifty acres of land and fifty pounds per year, a figure later reduced to forty-five.[89] Where a town was composed of several districts, instead of hiring a separate teacher for each district, it occasionally happened that the schoolmaster was rotated from district to district, according to the proportion of taxes the different localities paid to the town treasury.[90] Quite often the schoolmaster was hired for "a time of trial."[91] The school term was short, hardly ever over three months in the winter time, although there might be a short summer term conducted by a schooldame in some localities. Waterbury, on December 18, 1699, voted thirty shillings of school money for the encouragement of a school for three months. In 1702 the town appointed a schooldame for to keep school in the summer. These summer schools were generally carried on as far as possible with what remained of the school rates after the schoolmaster had been paid.[92]

The Calvinistic idea of total depravity had its influence upon

[86] Camp, David N.: *Hist. of New Britain,* p. 213.
[87] MSS. records of the Town of Guilford, copied by Ralph D. Smith of Guilford, Conn. State Library, p. 29.
[88] *Hartford Town Votes,* p. 85; see also p. 87; *Coll. of Conn. Hist. Soc.,* VI, pp. 112, 114.
[89] Beach, Joseph Perkins: *Hist. of Cheshire,* p. 68.
[90] Goodwin, J. O.: *East Hartford,* p. 166.
[91] Huntington, Rev. E. B.: *Hist. of Stamford,* p. 342.
[92] Bronson, Henry: *Hist. of Waterbury,* pp. 235-236.

the educational theory of the day. John Robinson, pastor of the Pilgrim Fathers, printed a volume of *New Essays, of Observations Divine and Moral,* in 1628, in which was contained an essay on the education of children. He remarked: "But say men what they will, or can, the wisdom of God is best; and that saith, that 'foolishness is bound up in the heart of a child, which the rod of correction must drive out,' and that 'he, who spares the rod, hurts his son': Prov. XXII, 15; XIII, 24; not in the affection of person, but effect of thing. And surely there is in all children, though not alike, a stubbornness and stoutness of mind arising from natural pride, which must in the first place be broken and beaten down. . . . This fruit of natural corruption and root of actual rebellion both against God and man must be destroyed."[93] Probably few Connecticut school children were spoiled by any undue sparing of the rod!

New Haven had a school within a year from the first settling. Michael Wigglesworth, who came with his parents to New Haven in October, 1638, records, "When the next summer was come, I was sent to school to Mr. Ezekiel Cheever, who at that time taught school in his own house."[94] The minute of the New Haven General Court in 1645 regarding Ezekiel Cheever's school was: "For the better training of youth in this town, that through God's blessing they may be fitted for public service hereafter in church and commonweal, it is ordered that a free school be set up and the magistrates with the teaching elders are entreated to consider what rules and orders are meet to be observed," etc.[95] New Haven had had a free school since 1641.[96]

The theory of the General Court of New Haven seemed to be that children should be taught to read at home before taxing the schoolmaster with their instruction. Mr. Cheever's

[93] Robinson, John: *Works,* I, p. 246.

[94] Wigglesworth, Michael: "Autobiography," prefixed to sixth edition of his *Day of Doom,* 1715.

[95] *N. H. Col. Rec.,* 1638-1649, p. 210.

[96] *Ibid.,* p. 62.

school was only for such boys as were to be taught to "make Latin." Mr. Bowers, who began teaching in New Haven in 1653, was troubled that so many children were sent to him to learn their letters and to spell, to the detriment of the Latin scholars for whom the school was intended. Mr. Hanford, his predecessor, had suffered from the same cause. Atwater asserts that the town took action and ordered two of the selectmen or townsmen to send all such children home and desired the teacher not to receive more.[97]

In 1659 the Court of New Haven Colony, looking upon it as their great duty to establish some courses that, "through the blessing of God, learning may be promoted in the jurisdiction as a means for the fitting of instruments for public service in church and commonwealth," ordered forty pounds to be paid yearly by the treasurer for a grammar school.[98] This school was expressly for teaching Latin. One of the rules drawn up in 1684 provided "That no boys be admitted into the said school for the learning of English books."

No provisions seem to have been made in New Haven in the early years for the education of girls or for such boys as were not advanced enough to enter the town school for those studying Latin. The Code of 1655 provided that parents and masters should "by improving such schoolmaster, other helps and means, as the Plantation doth afford, or the family may conveniently provide, that all children, and apprentices as they grow capable, may through God's blessing, attain at least so much, as to be able duly to read the Scriptures, and other good and profitable books in the English tongue . . ." and "to understand the main grounds and principles of the Christian Religion necessary to salvation."[99]

[97] Atwater, E. E.: *Hist. of New Haven*, 1887, p. 148.

[98] *N. H. Col. Rec.*, 1653-1665, p. 301. A condensed account of early Connecticut schools may be found in Dexter, E. G.: *A History of Education in the United States*, pp. 40-51.

[99] *N. H. Col. Rec.*, 1638-1649, p. 583.

A rule drawn up in 1680 for the New Haven Grammar School bearing on religious training provided "That the scholars, being called together, the master shall every morning begin his work with a short prayer for a blessing on his labors and their learning. . . . That if any of the school boys be observed to play, sleep or behave themselves rudely or irreverently, or be any way disorderly at meeting on the Sabbath days, or any other times of public worship of God, upon information or complaint thereof to the due conviction of the offender or offenders, the master shall give them due correction to the degree of the offence, and that all corrections shall be with moderation. . . . That all the Latin scholars, and all other boys of competent age and capacity give the master an account of one passage or sentence at least of the sermons the foregoing Sabbath, on the second day morning."[100]

Attendance was not at all regular. Mr. Bowers informed the Court on April 23, 1660, "that the number of scholars at present was but eighteen, and they are so unconstant that many times there are but six or eight. He desired to know the town's mind, whether they would have a school or no school." At the succeeding meeting of the Court, the Governor declared the matter was left to be further considered when it was determined what would be done about a colony school. The institution of the colony school at New Haven a few months later ended the town school, and provided for all boys in New Haven Colony who were to be Latin scholars.[101]

Concerning the colony school, which went into operation in 1660, Mr. Peck, the teacher, presented various propositions to the General Court in May, 1661, among which were the following: "Third. What is it that the jurisdiction expects from the master? Whether anything besides instruction in the languages

[100] N. H. Grammar School Rules, reprinted in *Hopkins Grammar School Catalogue*, 1857.

[101] Atwater, E. E.: *Hist. of New Haven*, 1887, p. 148.

and oratory? Fourth. That two indifferent men be appointed to prove and send to the master such scholars as be fitted for his tuition."[102] This colony school was short-lived, inasmuch as two years later, due to the scarcity of pupils and the "distraction of the time," the General Court in November, 1662, voted to discontinue.[103]

Following the closing of the colony school, Atwater asserts that the Court arranged with a George Pardee to teach English and "to carry them along in Latin as far as he could."[104] New Haven, desirous of gaining that portion of a bequest which was left by Governor Hopkins and by agreement among the trustees was then in the hands of Mr. Davenport, established a "grammar or collegiate school." Davenport assured himself that the townspeople would send their children to school, to be taught for fitting them for the service of God in church and commonwealth, and on May 30, 1660, turned over to the General Court his interest in the Hopkins bequest, reserving the liberty to make suggestions as to the carrying on of the trust. The Hopkins Grammar School, thus established, has, with some intermissions in its early history, persisted until the present day.

In Connecticut Colony a school was in existence in Hartford as early as 1637. The reason for establishing schools given in the Code of 1650 was that men might have a better understanding of the word of God, "It being one chief project of that old deluder Satan to keep men from the knowledge of the Scriptures."[105] It appears that boys were preferred to girls in the provisions for education. Certain it is that Farmington voted on January 12, 1687, that male children only were to be sent to the master in that town.[106] Wallingford, however, pro-

[102] *N. H. Col. Rec.*, 1653-1664, p. 407.
[103] *Ibid.*, p. 471.
[104] Atwater, E. E.: *Hist. of New Haven*, 1887, p. 150.
[105] *Conn. Rec.*, I, 1636-1665, p. 554.
[106] Camp, David N.: *Hist. of New Britain*, p. 214.

vided for both boys and girls, for a vote in town meeting of November 27, 1678, directed that three pence per week should be paid by all scholars, both male and female, toward the support of the schoolmaster.[107]

Every township, after it had increased to the number of fifty householders, by the Code of 1650 was ordered to appoint a teacher to teach all children which should come to him to read and to write. These schools were public, but not free. The wages of the teacher were to be paid by parents or masters, or by the inhabitants in general, as the major part should direct.[108] This law was the foundation of the Connecticut common school system. In 1678 the General Court enacted that towns of thirty families "shall have and maintain a school to teach children to read and write."[109] The Governor of Connecticut Colony in 1652 "acquainted the Court that he had heard the schoolmaster is somewhat discouraged because he hath so many English scholars, which he must learn to spell, which was never the town's mind, and it was now ordered that the schoolmaster shall send back such scholars as he sees does not answer the first agreement with him and the parents were desired not to send them." In 1654 there was a similar complaint.

Serious difficulty existed in getting children to these town schools. A petition dated at Fairfield, May 7, 1678, and signed by three persons for the inhabitants of Poquanock, stated that these persons lived almost four miles distant from the centre of the town and found "it very difficult to get [their] children educated at school, and if any, none but the greatest, whom [they] cannot spare to send constantly abroad." They had hired a schoolmaster and had forty-seven children in the school besides others who could not be spared except in winter.[110]

[107] Davis, C. H. S.: *Hist. of Wallingford*, p. 310.
[108] *Conn. Rec.*, I, 1636-1665, p. 555.
[109] *Ibid.*, III, 1678-1689, p. 9.
[110] *Ibid.*, III, 1678-1689, p. 8.

The General Court enacted that four grammar schools were "constantly kept by the four county towns of this colony" in 1700. These towns were Hartford, New Haven, New London, and Fairfield. However, grammar schools did not flourish in Connecticut. The laws of 1712 and 1717, placing the schools in the care of the parishes by making control localized, weakened the possibility of the growth of the grammar schools, as interest was centred in the schools within the parishes.

The law of 1700 ordered schools "for the teaching of children to write and read" for the whole year in towns of seventy families, and for half the year where there were less.[111]

Viewed in its best light, education for the great majority of children was most fugitive and fragmentary. Andrews asserts that "The frugal townspeople of New England generally deemed education an unnecessary expense: the school laws were evaded, and when complied with were more honored in the breach than in the observance. Even when honestly carried out, they produced but slender results. Probably most people could sign their names, after a fashion, though many extant wills and depositions bear only the marks of their signers. Schoolmasters and town clerks had difficulties with spelling and grammar, and the rural population were too much engrossed by their farm labors to find much time for the improvement of the mind. Except in the homes of the clergy and the leading men of the larger towns, there were few books, and those chiefly of a religious character. . . . There were no newspapers, and printing had as yet made little progress."[112]

Such was the condition of the schools of early Connecticut. Religious education in common schools of this early period was confined to the use of Scripture and catechisms as reading materials, and to the opening and closing exercises of the school. The whole background of colonial Connecticut, especially of

[111] *Conn. Rec.*, IV, 1689-1706, p. 331.
[112] Andrews, C. M.: *The Fathers of New England*, pp. 84-85.

New Haven, was that of a theocratic state whose rule and guide should be the Word of God. In such a community there would necessarily be much informal and undirected religious training within the schools, which was not a part of the regular schedule of studies.

IV.

The Materials of Religious Education in the Period 1633-1712.

INASMUCH as the text of the "Saybrook Platform,"[1] published in 1710, was among the first publications in Connecticut, the materials of religious instruction for Connecticut children in the seventeenth century necessarily came from the other colonies or from across the sea. Connecticut, in common with the other New World settlements, contained not only numbers of people who could hardly read, but also a great many who had little interest in either education or in reading in general. Most of the small farmers, laborers, and artisans limited

[1] The full title was, *A Confession of Faith, Owned and Consented to by the elders and Messengers of the Churches in the Colony of Connecticut in New-England assembled by Delegation at Saybrook, September 9th, 1708.* To which is appended, *The Heads of agreement Assented to by the United Ministers, formerly called Presbyterian and Congregational, and also Articles for the administration of church discipline agreed upon . . . at Saybrook.* New London, 1710.

Printing began in Connecticut in 1709, but during that year only broadsides appear to have been published. The proclamation for a fast day in June, 1709, is believed to be the first printing done in Connecticut. A facsimile has been issued by the Acorn Club.

Evans says regarding the Confession: "Following the practice customary with the early printers, of printing the title-page first, the year of publication given is that when its printing began. The printing of the work was not completed until the following year, and the greater part, if not the whole of the edition, remained in the hands of the printer's widow until the year 1714. The first book printed in Connecticut. In the 'Memoirs of pious females,' printed in New Haven in 1733, James Pierpont is stated to be the author of this work. It was reprinted in 1760, and at Bridgeport, in 1810, and Hartford in 1831." See Evans, Charles: *American Bibliography*, I, 1639-1729, p. 210, item 1486. Evans probably errs in stating that the Confession is the first book printed in Connecticut, as a sermon of Eliphalet Adams entitled *The Necessity of Judgment and Righteousness in a Land. A Sermon Preached at the General Court of Election, at Hartford in the Colony of Connecticut on May 11th, 1710*, bears the imprint New London, 1710, and was probably printed in that year, thus preceding the Confession.

their reading to the Bible, the various hymn books and psalters, and to such religious works as *Pilgrim's Progress,* an edition of which was published in Boston in 1681. Various almanacs were popular. Andrews states that "Except the Bible, probably no book was held in greater esteem or was more widely read than the Almanac."[2]

Catechetical instruction was the chief device employed for the spiritual edification of the young during the early decades of settlement. The customs of the home country were carried to the New World. Richard Hooker, writing in 1594, indicated the custom in England in this period when he stated that of "Ways of teaching there have been sundry always usual in God's Church. For the first introduction of youth to the knowledge of God, the Jews even to this day have their Catechisms. With religion it fareth as with other sciences, the first delivery of the elements thereof must, for like consideration, be framed according to the weak and slender capacity of young beginners."[3] In the lower school grades, a pupil's equipment consisted almost entirely of a catechism or primer, a book of psalms, and a Testament or Bible. The books which found their way into the schools were predominantly religious.

It must be remembered that the English Bible was not so old or so widely circulated that it had ceased to have special appeal to religious people of the seventeenth century. In a day of few periodicals and books, the early settlers rejoiced in the rich literature of the Scriptures, which they accepted as the final authority. Wyclif's translation of 1383 had never been printed. The manuscripts extant were exceedingly rare and were not available for any considerable numbers of the people. Tyndale's translation of 1525 gave England the Bible in her

[2] Andrews, C. M.: *Colonial Folkways;* see Chapter on "The Intellectual Life," especially p. 151.

[3] Hooker, Richard: "Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity," in Hooker's *Works,* ed. 1843, I, p. 463.

native tongue for the first time in printed form. Several other English translations were made and printed in the sixteenth century. In 1535 Miles Coverdale, later Bishop of Exeter, brought out an edition of the Bible. Then came the Matthew's Bible of 1537. Following this was Richard Taverner's version of 1539. In the same year the Great Bible of 1539 was published, the first English authorized version, edited by Coverdale and sponsored by Cranmer. These four editions of the Bible all followed Tyndale's translation in whole or in part.

The next English translation was made by English scholars who had sought refuge in Geneva during the reign of Mary Tudor, 1553 to 1558, and before their return had published a Bible which was a distinct advance over its predecessors. It was the first Bible to have Roman type and verse divisions, and it attained thereby speedy and permanent popularity. Numerous explanatory notes and arguments distinctly Calvinistic in tone endeared it especially to the Puritans and the Separatists. For two generations it maintained its supremacy as the Bible of the common people. Its phrases are found in Scripture quotations in English writings from Shakespeare to Bunyan. Some investigators hold that between 1560 and 1644 the Geneva Bible and Testament appeared in at least one hundred and forty editions. The polemical notes accompanying the text, with their strongly Calvinistic bias, had great influence upon the religious thought of the day. They not only represented the ecclesiastical background of those who settled New England, but helped to create it. This was the translation which was suppressed by Archbishop Laud in 1637 but not before it had served as the book of authority for the Puritan movement.

The first edition of the Bishops' Bible was published in 1568. It was an inferior production, which failed to commend itself either to scholars in the pulpit or to the people in the pews. Inasmuch as the Geneva version was becoming the Bible of the Puritan party rather than of the whole people and because

THE DOCTRINE OF THE CHURCH,

To which is committed the Keys of the Kingdome of Heaven.

Wherein is demonſtrated by way of Queſtion and Anſwer, *what a viſible Church is, according to the order of the Goſpel*: And *what Officers, Members, Worſhip, and Government Chriſt hath ordained in the New Teſtament.*

By that Reverend and learned Divine Mr. *Jo. Cotton*, B.D. and Teacher of the Church at *Boſton* in *New England.*

The Third Edition:

More exactly corrected, the Marginall proofes in the former Edition miſplaced, being herein placed more directly; and many other faults both in the Line and Margent, are here Corrected.

Ezek. 43. 10, 11. *Thou Sonne of man, ſhew the houſe to the houſe of Iſrael, that they may be aſhamed of their iniquities, and let them meaſure the patterne. And if they bee aſhamed of all that they have done, ſhew them the form of the houſe, and the faſhion thereof, and the goings out thereof, and the commings in thereof, and all the formes thereof, and all the ordinances thereof, and all the formes thereof, and all the lawes thereof: and write it in their ſight, that they may learn the whole forme thereof, and all the ordinances thereof, and doe them.*

Ier. 6. 16. *Thus ſaith the Lord, Stand ye in the wayes and ſee, and aske for the old paths, &c.*

Jer. 50. 5. *They ſhall aske the way to Zion, with their faces thitherward, ſaying, Come, let us joyne our ſelves to the Lord in a perpetuall Covenant, that ſhall not be forgotten.*

London, Printed for *Ben: Allen*, and are to be ſold in Popes-head Alley. 1644.

Title-page from the third edition of John Cotton's *The Doctrine of the Church*, the first edition of which was printed in 1643.

of the general discontent with the Bishops' version, King James decided to authorize a new translation. This he did in January, 1604, at a conference of bishops held in Hampton Court Palace. The Geneva version was extremely distasteful to him because of the politics and theology exhibited in its marginal notes. Accordingly fifty-four scholars were selected in an impartial manner from High Churchmen and Puritans, including also a few scholars unconnected with any party. The set of rules drawn up directed that the Bishops' Bible should be used as a basis. Departures should be made only when the text required it.

The King hoped to get rid of the Puritan views found in the notes of the Geneva Bible and "marry withal, he gave his caveat that no notes should be added, having found in those which were annexed to the Geneva translation some notes, very partial, untrue, seditious, and savouring too much of dangerous and traitorous conceits." Accordingly no notes were made except for the explanation of Greek and Hebrew words. The result of the labors of these scholars was the King James version of 1611 which had no equal for clear, idiomatic English. Books were so scarce, however, that those who had previous editions kept them. The Puritan people for quite natural reasons were loath to give up their Geneva Bibles.

The early settlers of Connecticut brought with them the different versions of the Bible which happened to be in their possession in the homeland. Being of Puritan stock they naturally inclined to the use of the Geneva translation, which served as theological text-book and commentary. The Bible furnished them with both instruction and entertainment; knowledge of its contents was not only a profitable spiritual attainment, but a mark of culture as well.

The custom of printing sermons was popular in New England and gave a wide circulation to the utterances of the best minds of the period. Among others, sermons of Thomas Hooker

of Hartford, Thomas Shepard of Cambridge, and John Cotton of Boston, were widely read. The pamphlet furnished a convenient medium for all sorts of controversies. Roger Williams attacked Massachusetts in his *Bloody Tenet of Persecution for Cause of Conscience,* to which John Cotton replied with his *Bloody Tenet washed and made white in the Blood of the Lamb,* which called for a rejoinder from Williams in *The Bloody Tenet yet more Bloody, by Mr. Cotton's endeavor to wash it white in the Blood of the Lamb.* Colonial sermon and controversial literature was widely read and greatly appreciated. "But we cannot judge fairly the contemporary effect of this pulpit literature," says Bliss Perry, "without remembering the passionate faith that made pulpit and pews co-partners in a supreme spiritual struggle. History properly insists upon the aesthetic poverty of the New England Puritans; that their rules of life cut them off from an enjoyment of the dramatic literature of the race, then just closing its most splendid epoch; that they had little poetry or music and no architecture and plastic art. But we must never forget that to men of their creed the Sunday sermons and the week day 'lectures' served as oratory, poetry, and drama. These outpourings of the mind and heart of their spiritual leaders were the very stuff of human passion in its intensest forms."[4]

Although books were scarce, the cost was not prohibitive. The price of primers in the year 1645 is indicated in a complaint before the General Court against one Mrs. Stolion, "That she sold primers at 9 pence apiece which cost but 4 pence here in New England."[5]

Many catechisms were printed during the first century of New England life, but few have come down to the present time. Livermore says of these early publications that "they were considered too small and unimportant to be preserved

[4] Perry, Bliss: *The American Spirit in Literature,* pp. 34-35.
[5] *N. H. Rec.,* 1638-1649, p. 176.

in the libraries of the learned, and the copies that were used by children were generally worn out by hard service or otherwise destroyed."[6]

One of the earliest catechisms used in New England, as well as in England and Holland, was *The foundation of the Christian Religion gathered into sixe Principles*, by William Perkins, printed in London in 1590 and reprinted in 1608. Eames was of the opinion that this was the catechism first used by the Puritans in England and by the Pilgrims at Leyden and in New England.[7] The work was arranged in question and answer form, the answer followed by expository statements of doctrinal nature.[8] It began:

> The first Principle.
>
> Question. What dost thou believe concerning God?
>
> Ans. There is one God, Creator, and Governor of all things, distinguished into the Father, the Son and Holy Ghost.
>
> Proofs out of the word of God.
>
> 1. There is a God.
>
> For the invisible things of him; that is, his eternal power and Godhead, are seen by the creation of the world, being considered in his works, to the intent, that they should be without excuse. Nevertheless, he left not himself without witness, in that he did good, and gave us rain from heaven and fruitful seasons, filling our hearts with food and gladness.

Further analysis followed of the declarations that "This God is one," "He is Creator of all things," "He is Governor of all things," "Distinguished into the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost."

[6] Livermore, George: *Origin of the New England Primer* (1915, reprinted from edition of 1849), preface.

[7] Eames, Wilberforce: "Early New England Catechisms," *Proc. Am. Antiq. Soc.*, XII, N. S., 1897-1898, p. 78.

[8] See Perkins, William: *The Workes of That Famous and Worthie Minister of Christ, in the Universitie of Cambridge, M. W. Perkins*, I, 1608, pp. 1-8.

The second Principle.

Qu. What dost thou believe concerning man, and concerning thine own self?

Ans. All men are wholly corrupted with sin through Adam's fall, and so are become slaves of Satan, and guilty of eternal damnation.

Analysis of the above followed. In the margin of the work were placed appropriate Scripture references.

The third Principle.

Qu. What means is there for thee to escape this damnable estate?

Ans. Jesus Christ, the eternal Son of God, being made man by his death upon the cross and by his righteousness, hath perfectly alone by himself accomplished all things that are needful for the salvation of mankind.

The statement of the question and answer was again followed by explanation, as in the case of the remaining questions and answers.

The fourth Principle.

Q. But how mayest thou be made partaker of Christ and his benefits?

Ans. A man of a contrite and humble spirit, by faith alone apprehending and applying Christ with all his merits unto himself, is justified before God and sanctified.

The fifth Principle.

Quest. What are the ordinary or usual means for the obtaining of faith?

Ans. Faith cometh only by the preaching of the word, and increaseth daily by it; as also by the administration of the Sacraments and prayer.

The sixth Principle.

Q. What is the estate of all men after death?

A. All men shall rise again with their own bodies, to the last judgment which being ended, the godly shall possess the kingdom of

heaven, but unbelievers and reprobates shall be in hell, tormented, with the devil and his angels forever.

After the explanation of the above questions and answers, there followed a lengthy exposition of the six principles by the question and answer method.

This catechism was typical of the period, a mixture of simple religious teaching with theology. From the length of the work, it was plainly not intended that it should be memorized, although the substance of the teaching could be learned by older children and by adults. As published in the 1608 edition of Perkins' works it covers eight large folio pages.

John Robinson supplemented Perkins' catechism by *An Appendix To Mr. Perkins his six principles of Christian Religion,* reprinted in the year 1635.[9] The author remarked in the preface to the work: "Unto the former principles published by that reverend man, Mr. William Perkins, fully containing what every Christian is to believe touching God, and himself, I have thought fit for the good, especially of those over whom I am set, (the younger sort of whom I have formerly catechised in private according to the same principles), to annex a few others touching the more solemn fellowship of Christians, the Church of God; as being a divine institution, the spiritual paradise, and temple of the living God: in which his most solemn services are to be performed; and to which he addeth daily such as shall be saved; promising to dwell in the midst of them by his most powerful and gracious presence." The first question and answer are:

What is the Church?

A. A company of faithful and holy people (with their seed) called by the word of God into public covenant with Christ, and amongst

[9] A copy is in the Yale Library. It is also available in convenient form in Robert Ashton's edition of *The Works of John Robinson, Pastor of The Pilgrim Fathers,* 1851, III, pp. 421, *seq.*

themselves for mutual fellowship in the use of all the means of God's glory and their salvation.

Robinson's Appendix contained thirteen pages of catechetical material and could very well have been memorized by older children. The emphasis placed upon the constitution of the church, with no mention of bishops and the prelacy, expresses John Robinson's own experience in the Separatist struggles for independence from the episcopacy. The independence of the local church as a body of "faithful and holy" people was and is one of the fundamental principles of the Congregational movement, and care was taken to rear the young in the belief of their elders.

Among other Puritan Catechisms published in England in the seventeenth century was Daniel Rogers' *A Practical Catechisme: Or, A view of those principale truths according to Godlinesse, which are contayned in the Catechisme,* London, 1632. This was a large work of 403 pages and was really a treatise on theology, as compared with most other catechisms of the period. The seventh edition of William Gouge's *A Short Catechisme, Wherein are briefly handled the fundamentall principles of Christian Religion Needful to be knowne by all Christians before they be admitted to the Lord's Table, Whereunto are added sundry prayers,* corrected and enlarged, is dated London, 1635.[10] The work was intended to be memorized and is exceedingly short. Printed with it is, "A briefe Abstract of the former Catechisme for the helpe of the younger and ignoranter sort," covering only two and one-half octavo pages as reprinted in Mitchell. It begins:

[10] Mitchell, Alexander F.: *Catechisms of the Second Reformation,* p. 41. Mitchell also reprints the fourth impression of Herbert Palmer's *An Endeavor of Making the Principles of Christian Religion, namely, the creed, the ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer and the Sacraments plaine and easie, etc.,* dated 1644; see pp. 99-118. In addition Mitchell reprints *A Catechisme* by "M. N., B. D., P. P.," the second edition being dated 1631, and a series of Scottish catechisms.

Q. How are the other two Ministeries to be exercised?

A. As the Church consisteth of men, and they of soules and bodies, so are the Deacons our of the Churches treasore & contribution to provide for the common vses of the Church, reliefe of the poore, & maintenance of the officers; as are the widowes to afford vnto the sick and impotent in body (not able otherwise to helpe themselves) their cheerefull and comfortable service.

Q. Wherefore call you those offices by the name of Ministeries, or Services?

Matth.20. 25,26.27. 2 Cor.4.5. A. For two causes: 1. For that they are no Lordships, but meere services of Christ. and of the Church.

1.Cor.4.1. & cap 3. 21,22,23. 2. Because they consist in administring onely of those things which are Christs, and he Churches vnder him.

Q. By whom are these Officers to hve their outward calling?

A. By the Church whereof they are members for the present, and to which they ae to administer.

Q. How doth that appeare?

A. 1. The Apostles who taught onely Christs Commandements, so directed the Churches.

Act.1.15. 23. & cap. 6.1,2,3,5. & cap 14. 23.

2. The people amongst whom the have been conversant can best iudge of thir fitnesse, both in respect of their persons ad families.

Act.1.21. & 6.3. 1.Tim 3.2. 3,4,5.

3. It furthereth much the diligere and faithfulnes of the Minister, that the whose Minister he is, have freely chosen him, as unto whom under Christ, they commit the most precious treasure of their soule: as also it bindes the people to greater love and conscience of obedience of him & his ministry, whom themselves have made choice of.

4 The Church being a most free Corporation spirituall under Christ the Lord, is in all reason and equity to chuse her ministers and servants under him, unto whom also she is to give wages for their service and labour. *1.Tim.5. 17,18.*

Q. Is this outward calling of simple necessity for a true Church officer?

A. Yea, as for the magistrate in the citty and common wealth, or steward in the family: without which they usurp their places, how excellent soever, whether in their gifts, or workes. *Heb.5,4.5.*

Q. What if the officer bee found unfaithfull in his place?

A. He is by the Church to bee warned to take heede to his ministery he hath received, to fullfill it; which if he neglect to doe, by the same power which set him up, hee is to be put downe and depосed. *Col.4,17.*

Q. What are the outward workes of the Churches communion with Christ?

A. These six: 1. Praier. 2. the reading and opening of the Word. 3. the Sacraments. 4 singing of Psalmes. 5. Censures. 6. Contribution tothe necessity of the Saints.

Q. Wherefore put you prayer in the first place?

A. Because by it all the rest are sanctified *1.Tim.2,1, 10 & 4.5.*

From John Robinson's *An Appendix To Mr. Perkins his six principles of Christian Religion*. There is some doubt as to when this book first appeared. This reproduction is from a reprint dated 1635. The first edition probably came out the same year.

Q. What are we most bound to know?
A. 1. God. 2. Ourselves.
Q. Where is this knowledge to be had?
A. In God's word.
Q. By what is God made knowne?
A. 1. By His nature. 2. By His persons. 3. By His properties. 4. By His works.

John Cotton's first catechism, published in 1642, was intended for adults. The third edition, published in London in 1644, bears the title, *The Doctrine of the Church, To which is committed the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven. Wherein is demonstrated by way of Question and Answer, What a visible Church is, according to the order of the Gospel: And what Officers, Members, Worship, and Government Christ hath ordained in the New Testament. By that Reverend and learned Divine, Mr. Jo. Cotton, B.D., and teacher of the Church at Boston in New England.*[11] It contains fourteen octavo pages and, as the title indicates, it deals largely with the constitution and practice of the church as conceived by the Separatists. The first question and answer are:

Question. What is the Church of the New Testament?
Answer. The Church is a mystical body, whereof Christ is the Head, the Members be Saints, called out of the world, and united together into one congregation by an holy covenant to worship the Lord and to edify one another in all his holy Ordinances.

Scripture proof-texts are inserted in the margin and between questions. The work was not too long to be memorized and was probably intended by the author for older children and adults.

[11] A copy is in the Yale Library. This little volume must not be confused with another work of John Cotton published in London in 1644 entitled, *The Keyes of the Kingdom of Heaven and Power thereof, according to the Word of God by That Learned and Judicious Divine, Mr. John Cotton, Teacher of the Church at Boston in New England, Tending to Reconcile some present differences about Discipline*, a copy of which is in the Yale Library.

Another catechism of John Cotton was entitled, *Milk for Babes. Drawn Out of the Breasts of both Testaments. Chiefly, for the spiritual nourishment of Boston Babes in either England; But may be of like use fore any children.* This catechism appeared first in 1646 or earlier, and ran through many editions.[12] It was included in several eighteenth-century editions of the New England Primer. Paul Leicester Ford stated that all the eighteenth-century editions of the New England Primer which he had observed contained either the Westminster Assembly's Shorter Catechism or John Cotton's *Milk for Babes.*[13] The catechism begins:

Q. What hath God done for you?
Answ. God hath made me, He keepeth me and He can save me.
Quest. Who is God?
A. God is a Spirit of himself and for himself.
Q. How many Gods be there?
Ans. There is but one God in three Persons: the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

Some time after John Cotton's death in 1652, a small catechetical volume was issued, entitled *A Treatise I, of Faith. II, Twelve fundamental articles of Christian Religion. III, A doctrinal conclusion. IV, Questions and Answers upon Church Government. Taken from Written Copies long since delivered by the late Reverend Mr. John Cotton, Teacher of the First Church in Boston, in New England.*[14] This little volume contained thirty-two small octavo pages and was arranged for either children or adults. From the length of the answers, it was hardly intended for memory work. The work begins:

[12] See Eames, Wilberforce: "Early New England Catechisms," *Proc. Am. Antiq. Soc.*, N. S., XII, 1897-1898, p. 94, *seq.*, for an account of the history of this catechism. This book is exceedingly rare. The British Museum has a first edition and the New York Public Library an edition dated 1646.

[13] Ford, Paul Leicester: *The New England Primer,* p. 37. See also the bibliography in the same work, pp. 299-308.

[14] A copy is in the Yale Library. A note on the flyleaf asserts that this is the only copy in America and that only three exist in England.

Quest. What is Faith?

Answ. It is a work of God's Almighty Quickening Power wrought by the ministry of the Word and Spirit of God, whereby the Heart is weaned from all confidence in the flesh, and believeth in God and the Lord Jesus Christ to Righteousness.

The Chief Grounds of Christian Religion set down by way of catechising gathered long since for the use of an honourable family, by Ezekiel Rogers, sometime of Rowley in Yorkshire, now in New England, was reprinted in London in 1642. The opening queries and answers are:

Question. Wherefore hath God given to man a reasonable and an immortal soul.

A. That he above all creatures should seek God's glory and his own salvation.

Q. Where is he taught how this is done?

A. In the Scriptures, or Word of God.

Q. What are the Scriptures?

A. The Canonical books of the Old and New Testament.[15]

The matter contained is simple, and probably intended for memorizing by all members of a household.

Rev. John Ball brought out a work entitled *A Short Catechisme Containing The Principles of Religion Very Profitable for All Sorts of People*. It had gone through twelve editions by 1628, the nineteenth impression was dated 1642,[16] and the thirty-fourth, 1653.[17] It began very much as the Westminster Catechism.

Q. What ought to be the chief and continual care of every man in this life?

A. To glorify God and save his soul.

[15] Mitchell, Alexander F.: *Catechisms of the Second Reformation*, London, 1886, pp. 53-55. The edition of 1642 is reprinted entire on pp. 53-64.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. xlii.

[17] *Ibid.*, pp. 65-91, contain a reprint dated 1642.

James Noyes, minister at Newbury from 1635 to 1656, published a catechism entitled *A short catechism composed by Mr. James Noyes, Late Teacher of the Church of Christ in Newbury, in New England. For the use of the children there,* reprinted in Boston in 1714. Coffin says that this catechism was published in compliance with the order of the General Court of Massachusetts in 1641, that "the elders would make a catechism for the instruction of youth in the grounds of religion."[18] A reprint of the edition of 1714 occurs in Coffin's *History of Newbury.*[19] The body of the catechism begins:

Question. How do the Scriptures prove themselves to be true?

Answer. By the holiness of the matter, by the majesty of the style, by the accomplishment of the prophecies, by the efficacy of their power on the hearts of men, besides the Holy Ghost beareth witness, helping us to discern the truth of them.

Q. What is the sum of the Scriptures?

A. A doctrine of a Godly life.

Q. Wherein consists a Godly life?

A. In obedience of Faith.

John Norton, who was teacher at Ipswich church until the death of Cotton in 1652, when he was called to the First Church of Boston, published a catechism in 1648. This Ipswich catechism is reported by Wilberforce Eames as having the title, *A Brief and Excellent Treatise containing the Doctrine of Godlinesse, or living unto God. Wherein the Body of Divinity is substantially proposed and methodically digested, by way of Question and Answer. . . . By John Norton. . . . London, 1648* [*1647 o. s.*]. A copy is in the British Museum.[20]

Thomas Shepard, minister of the Cambridge church from

[18] Coffin, Joshua: *Hist. of Newbury,* p. 33. For Mass. enactment, see *Rec. Mass. Bay,* I, 1628-1641, p. 328.

[19] Coffin, Joshua: *Hist. of Newbury,* pp. 287-291.

[20] Eames, Wilberforce: "Early New England Catechisms," *Proc. Am. Antiq. Soc.,* N. S., XII, 1897-1898, p. 103.

1636 to 1649, published a catechism entitled, *The First Principles of the Oracles of God, etc.*, with a foreword by William Adderly dated from Charter-house in London, February 1, 1647, in which Adderly remarks: "It is no disparagement at all for this wise Master-Builder to labor sometimes by the hammer of the Word, to fasten these nails of truth in a sure place, even in the heads and hearts of infant Christians." An edition marked, "London, Printed for John Rothwell, 1655,"[21] begins:

> Quest. What is the best and last end of man?
> A. To live to God. Rom. 6. 10, 11. Gal. 3. 19. II Cor. 5. 3. 15.
> Q. How is man to live unto God?
> A. Two ways. First, by faith in God; Psal. 37. 3. Secondly, by observance of God; Eccles. 12. 13.

Thomas Shepard also published several non-catechetical religious works, among which were *The Sound Believer,* printed in 1653; and *The Sincere Convert, The Saints Jewel,* and *The Soule's Invitation,* all printed in 1655.

Cotton Mather, in referring to the catechetical writings of Richard Mather, stated, "He published catechisms, a lesser and a larger, so well formed, that a Luther himself would not have been ashamed of being a learner from them."[22] Eames gives the title for the "larger" one published in 1650, as *A Catechism; Or, The Grounds and Principles of Christian Religion, set forth by way of Question and Answer. Wherein the summe of the Doctrine of Religion is comprised, familiarly opened, and clearly confirmed from the Holy Scriptures, etc.*[23]

John Fiske, pastor of the church at Chelmsford, brought out a catechism in 1657, entitled, *The Watering of the Olive Plant in Christ's Garden. Or, A Short Catechism for the first*

[21] A copy is in the Yale Library.
[22] Mather, Cotton: *Magnalia* (ed. 1853), I, p. 454.
[23] Eames, Wilberforce: "Early New England Catechisms," *Proc. Am. Antiq. Soc.,* N. S., XII, 1897-1898, pp. 105-106.

Entrance of our Chelmsford Children, etc. This catechism is for young children and intended to be memorized. The questions begin thus:

Q. Who made thee, or gave thee thy Being?
Answ. God, the giver of Beings.
Quest. What is God?
Answ. The Maker, Preserver and Governor of all things.[24]

A New Haven catechism, entitled *A Catechism containing the Chief Heads of Christian Religion. Published at the desire and for the use of the Church of Christ at New Haven, by John Davenport, Pastor, and William Hooke, Teacher,* was published in London in 1659.[25] Hooke was associated with Davenport as teacher in the New Haven church in 1644 or 1645. The book contains fifty-four octavo pages and was probably intended for study by older children and adults. Many of the answers are too long to admit of complete repetition from memory. The questions begin thus:

Q. What is true Religion?
Answ. A wisdom from above whereby we live unto God.
Qu. How may a man live unto God?
Answ. By faith in God, and obedience towards God.

A Norwich catechism was printed in 1679, with the title, *The First Principles of the Doctrine of Christ; Together with stronger Meat for them that are skil'd in the Word of Righteousness. Or the Doctrine of living unto God, wherein the Body of Divinity is Briefly and Methodically handled by way of Question and Answer. Published at the desire, and for the use of the Church of Christ in Norwich, in New England, by James Fitch Pastor of that Church, . . .* Boston, 1679. The first questions and answers are:

[24] Eames, Wilberforce: "Early New England Catechisms," *Proc. Am. Antiq. Soc.*, N. S., XII, 1897-1898, pp. 110-111.
[25] A copy is in the Yale Library.

Bookes Printed for *John Allen* at the *Sun-rising* in Paules Church Yard.

A Declaration of the Faith and Order owned and practiſed in the Congregationall Churches in *England*; Agreed upon and conſented unto By their Elders and Meſſengers in their meeting at the *Savoy*, *October* 12. 1658.

Cotton on the Covenant.

Beza *Novia Teſtamentum*.

Baxters call to the unconverted.

Parens on the Revelation.

Verso of the title-page from the catechism published by John Davenport and William Hooke, pastor and teacher of the church in New Haven.

Q. What is religion?

A. Religion is a doctrine of living unto God, and consists of two parts, Faith and Observance.

Q. What is Faith?

A. Faith is the first part of Religion, and is a trusting in God for life, proceeding from a grounded knowledge of God, as he hath made known himself in his sufficiency and in his efficiency.[26]

Hartford had a catechism by Samuel Stone by the year 1684. Stone died in 1663. No mention is made of the publication of the catechism in his lifetime. The earliest edition known is the one entitled, *A Short Catechism Drawn out of the Word of God, by Samuel Stone, Minister of the Word at Hartford, on Connecticut,* Boston, 1684. The work begins:

Quest. What is Divinity or Religion?
Answ. A Doctrine of living well.
Q. What is it to live well?
A. To will the good will of God.

Copious proof-texts are introduced in the text.[27] The text of the catechism itself contains about twelve and one-half octavo pages. The answers are short and the work was doubtless intended for general pastoral use among children and young people, as it could without difficulty be memorized.

Toward the close of the seventeenth century, the famous New England Primer was published. Paul Leicester Ford dates the first edition between 1687 and 1690.[28] Henry Newman's almanac, entitled *News from the Stars,* for 1691 and probably printed late in 1690, bears an advertisement of the "Second Impression of The New England Primer enlarged." The first edition had apparently met immediate success.

[26] Eames, Wilberforce: "Early New England Catechisms," *Proc. Am. Antiq. Soc.,* N. S., XII, 1897-1898, pp. 118-119.

[27] A facsimile reprint is in the Yale Library.

[28] Ford, Paul Leicester: *The New England Primer,* pp. 16-17.

The Primer began with the alphabet, with various arrangements of letters, to bring out the distinction between vowels, consonants, and double letters, as well as between italic and capital letters. After this came the "syllabarium," with combinations such as "ab, eb, ib, ob, ub." This was followed by words of one syllable lengthened by degrees to words of five or six syllables. At times, when cramped for space, the polysyllabic words were dropped in the editions.[29]

There was an entire omission of the small cross at the beginning of the alphabet, lest any should take offense at a symbol which smacked of the Church of England.

Usually succeeding the syllabarium was "An Alphabet of Lessons for Youth," a series of moral lessons from the Bible, so arranged that each paragraph began with a successive letter of the alphabet. They began thus:

A wise Son makes a glad Father, but a foolish Son is the heaviness of his Mother.

B etter is a little with the fear of the Lord, than great treasure and trouble therewith.

An exception was made to the letter "X," for which the editor wrote:

e X hort one another daily.

There was contained also a series of twenty-four little pictures, with alphabetical rhymes, commencing:

In Adams fall
We sinned all.
Thy life to mend,
This book attend.

The Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed were included in every New England Primer, and very often followed the

[29] Ford, Paul Leicester: *The New England Primer,* pp. 23-24.

A CATECHISME FOR *NEW-HAVEN.*

Qu. *WHat is true Religion?*

Anſw. A wiſdom from above, whereby we live unto God. Jam. 3. 17. Titus. 1. 1. Rom. 6. 10. 11. 1 Pet. 4. 2, 6.

Qu. *How may a man live unto God?*

Anſw. By faith in God, and obedience towards God. Tit. 3. 8. 1 Tim. 1. 19. Act. 24. 14, 15, 16.

Qu. *What is faith in God?*

Anſw. It is the firſt act and meanes of ſpirituall life, whereby the ſoul, believing God, reſteth in God, as in the only Author and principle of life. Heb 10. 38. Jer. 17. 7. 1 Tim. 4. 10

Qu. *How may we know God, that we may have faith in him?*

Anſw. None knoweth God, as he is in himſelfe, but himſelfe. But, ſo farr as God hath revealed himſelfe, we may know him ſufficiently unto life, by his backparts. 1 Tim. 6. 16 Deut. 29. 29. Exod. 33. 19 20, 23.

Qu. *What are Gods backparts?*

 Anſw.

Page from the catechism which John Davenport and William Hooke published in London in 1659 for the children of New Haven church.

"Alphabet of Lessons."[30] There was, however, a wide variation of text.[31]

The Primer, in addition to the above, contained a poem of John Rogers' and a picture of the martyr burning at the stake, with his wife, described as "with nine small children, and one at her breast," looking on. A catechism was usually contained in the Primer, either the Westminster Assembly's Shorter Catechism or John Cotton's *Spiritual Milk for Babes*. In some editions, both were included.[32]

The New England Primer reflects the stern and simple religious life of the Puritans. Says Ford: "For one hundred years this Primer was *the* school book of the dissenters of America, and for another hundred it was frequently reprinted. In the unfavorable locality (in a sectarian sense) of Philadelphia, the accounts of Benjamin Franklin and David Hall show that between 1749 and 1766, or a period of seventeen years, that firm sold thirty-seven thousand, one hundred copies. Livermore stated in 1849 that within the last dozen years '100,000 copies of modern editions . . . have been circulated.' An over-conservative claim for it is to estimate an annual average sale of twenty thousand copies during a period of one hundred and fifty years, or a total sale of three million copies."[33]

The Westminster Assembly's Shorter Catechism of 1647 was much used in Connecticut in the seventeenth century. The General Court, in May, 1680, enacted that it be recommended to the ministry to catechize the youth under twenty years of age in the Assembly of Divines Catechism, or that they employ some other orthodox catechism, on the Sabbath days.[34] It began:

[30] Ford, Paul Leicester: *The New England Primer*, p. 25.
[31] *Ibid.*, p. 26.
[32] *Ibid.*, pp. 37-38.
[33] *Ibid.*, p. 19.
[34] *Conn. Rec.*, III, 1678-1689, p. 65.

Quest. 1. What is the chief end of man?
A. Man's chief end is to glorify God, and to enjoy him forever.[35]

This catechism went through many editions.

Richard Baxter's *Saints' Everlasting Rest,* first published in 1650, went through twelve editions by 1688; and his *Call to the Unconverted,* published in 1665, ran through a number of editions during the eighteenth century and was published by the American Tract Society after 1800. Baxter published in 1655 *The Quakers' Catechism, Or, The Quakers questioned, Their Questions Answered, And Both Published; For the Sake of those of them that have not yet sinned unto Death, And of those ungrounded Novices that are most in danger of their Seduction.* The volume contained a series of questions which were intended to put the Separatists, Anabaptists, and Quakers at a disadvantage.

In 1674 Baxter's *The Poor Man's Family Book . . . In plain familiar Conferences between a Teacher and a Learner . . . With a request to Landlords and Rich Men to give to their Tenants and poor Neighbours either this or some fitter Book,* was brought out in London. It contained two parts, the first consisting of nine daily conferences in the form of a dialogue between "Paul," a pastor, and "Saul," an ignorant sinner. The instruction is brought out in the dialogue which ensues. The second part consisted of "Forms of Prayer, Praise and Catechism, for the use of Ignorant Families that need them." Two catechisms are contained in the second part. The first, or "The Shortest Catechism," consists of only three questions and their answers. The second consists of ten questions, but the answers are so long that it was probably not intended to be memorized.

Baxter published several works dealing with the religious

[35] See Mitchell, Alexander F.: *Catechisms of the Second Reformation,* pp. 1-39, for a reprint of the Westminster Shorter Catechism with each answer compared with answers in previous Puritan catechisms.

instruction of the young. In 1683 *The Catechizing of Families, a Teacher of Housholders How To Teach their Housholds. Useful also to School-Masters and Tutors of Youth,* was published in London. It was prepared for those who were through the common small catechisms, such as were printed in *The Poor Man's Family Book* and who wished "to grow to a more rooted faith, and to the fuller understanding of all that is commonly needful to a safe, holy, comfortable and profitable life." It was an elaborate work of 440 octavo pages. Baxter advocated suitable catechetical materials for childhood, youth, and maturer age. His work represents his efforts to provide such teaching materials. In this he anticipated Watts.

Cotton Mather, whose active pen produced so many works upon religion, published in 1689 a volume entitled *Early Piety, Exemplified in the Life and Death of Nathaniel Mather.* A volume entitled, *Addresses To Old Men, and Young Men, and Little Children. In Three Discourses . . . To which may be added, A short Scriptural Catechism,* was printed in Boston in 1690. *The Duty of Children Whose Parents have Pray'd for them. Or, Early and Real Godliness Urged; Especially upon such as are descended from Godly Ancestors. A Sermon, preached May 19, 1703. (A Day set apart for) Prayer with Fasting . . . for the Rising Generation* came out in Boston, 1703. *A Family Sacrifice. A Brief Essay To Direct and Excite Family Religion; and Produce the Sacrifices of Righteousness in our Families,* came out in 1703, and *Family Religion Urged . . . To which is added, A select number of choice Hymns,* in 1709. *Good Lessons for Children, in Verse,* was published in Boston in 1706; the fourth edition of *The Life of Elizabeth Butcher,* Boston, 1718, and his *Family Religion, Excited and Assisted,* the second impression of which came out in Boston in 1707, went through four impressions by 1720. A tiny volume containing twenty small octavo pages, entitled *Frontiers Well-Defended. An Essay to Direct the Frontiers of a County Ex-*

posed unto the Incursions of a Barbarous Enemy. How to behave themselves in their Uneasy Station, was published by Mather in Boston in 1707. Appended to this writing is a catechism, entitled "The Fall of Babylon," with a preface, "The Protestant armed from the Tower of David." The questions begin:

> Quest. Is the Sacred Scripture a sufficient rule both for what we are to believe and what we are to practice, in the matters of religion?
>
> Answ. The rule given us by the Spirit of God, speaking in the Scripture, is a rule of such sufficiency and perfection that we are to believe and practice nothing in the matters of salvation but what is therein revealed unto us. It is a vile reproach upon those Holy Oracles to imagine otherwise.[36]

In 1700 a book entitled *A Token for the Children of New England. Or, Some Examples of Children in whom the Fear of God was Remarkably Budding, before they Dyed, In Several Parts of New England . . . Added as Supplement, unto the Excellent Janewayes Token for Children: upon the Reprinting of it, in this Countrey,* by the same author, Cotton Mather, was published in Boston. In the same year he published *Things that Young People should Think upon. Or, The Death of Young People Improved.* In 1701 Cotton Mather published *The Young Man's Preservative Or, Serious Advice to All, and especially to Young People, About their Company whereto, There is added, a Remarkable Relation, of a Young Gentleman, by a wonderful Hand of Heaven, Converted unto an Heavenly Life, and Rescued from the Snares of Evil Company;* and in 1709, *The Sum of the Matter. An Abridgement of the Assembly's Catechism.*

Increase Mather, teacher of the church in Boston, published a sermon in 1678, Boston, entitled, *Pray on the Rising Generation, or a Sermon Wherein Godly Parents are Encouraged to Pray and Believe for their Children.* He later published *The*

[36] A copy is in the Yale Library.

Duty of Parents To Pray for Their Children. Bound with it was *The Duty of Children, Whose Parents have Pray'd for them. Or, Early and Real Godliness Urged; Especially upon such as are Descended from Godly Ancestors.* Both were sermons preached on May 19, 1703, "a day set apart for praying with fasting, in one of the congregations at Boston, to implore the glorious grace of God for the rising generation." They were printed in Boston in 1719.

An Earnest Exhortation to The Children of New-England To Exalt the God of their Fathers, by the same author, was published in 1711.

One of the chief religious books of this whole period was "Foxe's Book of Martyrs," the true title of which is *Actes and monuments of these latter and perillous dayes, touching matters of the Church, wherein ar comprehended and described the great persecutions, horrible troubles, that have bene wrought and practised by Romishe prelates, specallye in this Realme of England and Scotlande, from the yeare of our Lorde, a thousande, unto the tyme nowe present. Gathered and collected according to the true copies, wrytinges certificatorie . . .* John Day: London, 1563. Four editions of this work came out in the lifetime of Foxe, *viz.*, in 1563, 1570, 1576, and in 1583. These, with five later editions which appeared in 1596, 1610, 1632, 1641, and 1684, were in folio. The Puritan clergy and the Puritan movement generally relied upon Foxe as the authority in matters of church history. The work was strongly anti-Catholic, and in that it resembled the polemical marginal notes in the various editions of the Geneva Bible. It was a fruit of the same spirit. Foxe was a passionate pleader for the Puritan cause. The stories of the martyrs were frequently made the subjects of sermons and the book was often read in pulpits and in homes along with the Bible.

Newspapers played a small part in the literary life of the colonies in the seventeenth century. A few periodicals came into

Connecticut from about Massachusetts Bay. *The Present State of the New-English Affairs,* a broadside, was started in Boston in 1689. *Publick Occurrences both Forreign and Domestick* began in the same town on September 25, 1690. This latter may properly be said to be the first newspaper issued in America and only a single number was printed. There were no periodicals in Connecticut in the seventeenth century. Periodicals did not make their appearance in that colony until after the middle of the next century.[37]

An account of the materials of religious education should not conclude without some account of the music of the period. There was a close connection between music and religion in early New England. When religion waned, music was neglected, and when religion revived, psalmody improved. The music of the settlers of New England consisted of tunes they had brought with them from England and Holland. Metrical psalmody had come into vogue with the Reformation. Luther used it in public service as early as 1517. To whatever country the Reformation spread, thither were taken some of the favorite hymns and tunes of the Germans. Choral music received especial attention in England from the time of the Reformation to the close of Queen Elizabeth's reign. As one of the adornments of worship, music was destined to suffer in the first century of American settlement. A good account of music in

[37] For data on early American periodicals see Cook, Elizabeth Christine: *Literary Influences in Colonial Newspapers 1704-1750,* New York, 1912; Weeks, Lyman Horace, and Bacon, Edwin M.: *An Historical Digest of the Provincial Press,* The Society for Americana, Inc., Boston, 1911; Ford, Paul Leicester: *Check-List of American Magazines Printed in the Eighteenth Century,* Brooklyn, N. Y., 1889; Matthews, Albert: *New England Magazines 1743-1800,* Boston, 1908; Matthews, Albert: *Lists of New England Magazines 1743-1800,* reprinted from The Publications of The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Vol. XIII, Cambridge, 1910; Nelson, William: *American Newspaper Files 1704-1800 And Where They May Be Found,* Paterson, N. J., 1893. See especially for Connecticut, Brigham, Clarence S.: "Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690-1820," in *Proc. Am. Antiq. Soc.,* Vol. 23, N. S., Part 2, Worcester, 1913, pp. 254-330, and Ingram, John Van Ness: *A Check List of American Eighteenth Century Newspapers in the Library of Congress,* Washington, 1912, pp. 5-16.

New England during this period is to be found in a work by George Hood, entitled *A History of Music in New England with Biographical Sketches of Reformers and Psalmists,* Boston, 1846. In this excellent piece of research the author mentions the important sermons, pamphlets, and books upon the subject, and gives lengthy extracts from them, which are of the utmost value to those who may be denied access to the originals.[38]

The first book of Psalms with which the settlers of Connecticut were probably familiar was Sternhold's translation of nineteen psalms first printed in 1549. These were reprinted in December of the same year with eighteen more by Sternhold and seven by Hopkins, forty-four in all and without music. In this form the psalms went through many editions. In 1566 they were reprinted with musical notes and seven additional psalms by Whittingham. The first collection of the whole one hundred and fifty psalms seems to have been published by John Day in 1562 and to have been attached to the Book of Common Prayer.

Another version of the psalms used by the early settlers was Ainsworth's *Booke of Psalmes: Englished both in Prose and Metre,* which contained a lengthy commentary on the psalms in prose, followed by a metrical version, and was printed at Amsterdam as early as 1612. Tunes were printed at intervals in the text as they were in the version of Sternhold and Hopkins.[39] Hood says: "There is almost a certainty that no other version than Ainsworth's was ever used in the colonies until the New England version [The Bay Psalm Book] was published. But if any one was used in one or two of the churches, it was Sternhold and Hopkins. The writer, after extensive research, has never seen the most distant allusion to any other version

[38] A copy is in the Yale Library.

[39] Copies are in the Yale Library dated Amsterdam, 1612 and 1644. The first edition was in 1612, the second edition in 1617-1618. The 1644 edition was probably the third.

except in Felt's history of Ipswich, which says Sternhold and Hopkins was used in the first church in that town."[40] Hood probably overstates the matter, however, for Ezra Stiles records that the first version used by the people at Windsor was that of Sternhold and Hopkins, which was printed at the end of their Bibles.[41] Sternhold and Hopkins' metrical version of the psalms was sometimes bound with folio editions of the Bible, but in that form it was too costly for common use in the churches. The title runs: *The Whole Booke of Psalmes. Collected Into English Meeter, by Thomas Sternehold, John Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with Apt Notes to Sing them withall. Set foorth and allowed to bee Sung in all Churches, of all the people together, and after Morning and Evening Prayer, as also before and after Sermons: and moreover in private Houses, for their godly solace and comfort, laying apart all ungodly Songs and Ballads, which tend onely to the nourishing of vice, and corrupting of Youth.*[42] In some editions a series of prayers for morning and evening and other occasions were printed with the psalms. The version of Sternhold and Hopkins never became a general favorite, probably due to its want of conformity with the original, a grave fault with the literalistic Puritans. In matters of rhythm and smoothness it was equal or superior to either Ainsworth or the Bay Psalm Book. Samuel Wesley, the father of John Wesley, is said to have referred to them as "scandalous doggerel." Others are reported to have dubbed them "Hopkins his Jigges."[43]

The Bay Psalm Book, published in 1640, was the first book to be printed in New England. It was the work of the lead-

[40] Hood, George: *A History of Music in New England,* pp. 48-49, note.

[41] Stiles, Henry R.: *Hist. of Ancient Windsor,* p. 77.

[42] A copy is in the Yale Library, dated London, 1618, and bound with a Bible dated 1612. The first edition of the Sternhold and Hopkins version consisted of fifty-one psalms and was published in 1549, the second in 1553. See Hood, George: *A History of Music in New England,* p. 60.

[43] Ninde, Edward S.: *The Story of the American Hymn,* pp. 16-17.

ing divines in and about Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay. Richard Mather, minister at Dorchester, and Thomas Welde and John Eliot, associate ministers of the church at Roxbury, seem to have done the bulk of the work. Their aim was to produce a literal translation into metre nearer the original than any other version. No music was printed with the psalms in this songbook.[44] The title reads: *The Whole Booke of Psalmes Faithfully Translated into English Metre. Whereunto is prefixed a discourse declaring not only the lawfulness, but also the necessity of the heavenly Ordinance of singing Scripture Psalmes in the Churches of God.* The preface revealed the state of uncertainty in the church in regard to music. "The singing of Psalmes, though it breathe forth nothing but holy harmony, and melody: yet such is the subtilty of the enemy, and the enmity of our nature against the Lord, and his ways, that our hearts can find matter of discord in this harmony, and crochets of division in this holy melody.—for—There have been these questions especially stirring concerning singing, First, what psalms are to be sung in churches? Whether David's and other scripture psalms, or the psalms invented by the gifts of godly men in every age of the church. Secondly, if scripture psalms, whether in their own words, or in such meter as English poetry is wont to run in? Thirdly, by whom are they to be sung? Whether by the whole churches together with their voices or by one man singing alone and the rest joining in silence and in the close saying amen."[45] The editors answer that David's songs are to be sung in ordinary English metre and that all the church should join in the singing. The preface concludes by saying: "If therefore the verses are not always so smooth and elegant as some may desire or

[44] See Thomas, Isaiah: *The History of Printing in America*, I, p. 46, for an account of the Bay Psalm Book, constituting volumes V and VI of the *Transactions and Collections of the American Antiquarian Society*, 1874.

[45] The Bay Psalm Book, facsimile reprint 1903, preface.

expect: let them consider that God's Altar needs not our polishings: Ex. 20. for we have respected rather a plain translation, than to smooth our verses with the sweetness of any paraphrase, and so have attended conscience rather than elegance, fidelity rather than poetry, in translating the Hebrew words into English language, and David's poetry into English meter, etc."[46] In spite of much wretched poetry the Bay Psalm Book became the favorite and remained so until the time of the American Revolution, when it was superseded by Watts' Psalms. Hood declares The Bay Psalm Book went through at least eighteen editions in England, twenty-two in Scotland, and thirty in America, within a century from its publication.[47] None of these editions contained tunes until 1690, when a few were inserted. The ninth edition, that of 1698, contained fourteen tunes, among them Windsor, York, Oxford, Litchfield, and Low Dutch.

In 1647, to meet the differences of opinion which were aroused over the metrical translation of the psalms, the Rev. John Cotton published a treatise upon singing entitled: *Singing of Psalms a Gospel ordinance: Or a treatise wherein are handled these four particulars. I. Touching the duty itself. II. Touching the matter to be sung. III. Touching the singers. IIII. Touching the manner of singing. By John Cotton, Teacher of the Church at Boston in New England.* The subjects enumerated in the title were elaborated in the body of the work with proof-texts to fortify the author's reasoning.

John Eliot, the missionary to the Indians, translated the psalms into Indian verse, and his translation was printed in 1661 at Cambridge, together with the New Testament.

The tunes used in the New England colonies for nearly one hundred years were those contained in the Ravenscroft Collection, published in England in 1618. Harmonies contained

[46] The Bay Psalm Book, facsimile reprint, 1903, preface.
[47] Hood, George: *A History of Music in New England,* pp. 26-27, 48.

therein became the standard for both homeland and colonies.[48] But nevertheless, toward the close of the seventeenth century, most churches knew only three or four tunes which they could sing with any degree of proficiency. Scarcity of tunes made it necessary to append music to the psalm books. This was probably done for the first time about 1690, for Mr. Symmes says in his *Joco-Serious Dialogue* printed in 1723, "As to Hackney, or St. Mary's it has been pricked [printed] in one edition of our Psalm Books above these thirty years." Hood reports an edition, with music appended, printed at Boston in 1698. Music deteriorated steadily during the seventeenth century, each individual, each congregation, singing as pleased each.

It is probably safe to say that the vast majority of books brought to the colonies in the seventeenth century were of a religious character. Ford gives an invoice of a shipment to Usher's shop in Boston in 1685 which contains eight hundred and seventy-four books as follows: religious books, 311; school books, 391; Bibles, Testaments, catechisms, etc., 55; law, 36; dictionaries, 3; arts, including navigation, medicine, cookery, and military, 66; history, travel, and biography, 6; and romance, 6.[49] Wright estimates that of the 157 volumes published by the Cambridge press from its establishment in 1638 through the year 1670, 26 were almanacs, 19 were in Indian dialects, 58 were prose religious works, 5 were religious works in verse, 12 were lists of Harvard theses, 22 were official laws

[48] The British Museum Catalog of early English books before 1640 records a copy of Ravenscroft, Thomas: *The whole booke of Psalmes: with . . . tunes . . . Newly corrected and enlarged by T. R. 1621. 8vo. Also Deuteromelia; or the Second part of Musik Melodie etc.* (By T. R., *i.e.* T. Ravenscroft) 1609. The Lowell Mason Library of the Yale Divinity School has a reprint of a copy dated 1621, entitled *Reprint of all the tunes in Ravenscroft's Book of Psalms, with introductory remarks. Edit. by W. H. Havergal.* L. 1845.

[49] Ford, W. C.: *The Boston Book Market, 1679-1700*, p. 44. The volume contains much material of value to anyone interested in the reading of the early colonists.

and publications, 3 were school texts, 4 were poetry, and 8 were history, biography, etc.[50]

The outstanding characteristic of the literature of this period which was intended for children was the precocious piety it presupposed. Doctrinal and theological refinements were taught with rigid particularity. Divine sovereignty was emphasized not so much as being a rule of reason by an immanent and kindly deity, as a rule manifesting itself in terms of arbitrary will. Infant damnation and original sin were prominent in the teachings of children's books. Care was taken to inform the child of his depraved nature and to urge him to repent and seek salvation, which was not possible for him to win unless he were fortunate enough to be among the elect. This doctrine of the moral inability of man, although it was not rigidly and logically applied, was one of the most discouraging aspects of the religion of the period. But lest a godly life might be altogether despised, there was always an insistence upon repentance and righteousness, with the hope that one might be among the elect. It was a day when men adhered strongly to systems of theology, and if doctrine occupied a prominent place in the instruction of children, it was a logical consequence of the spirit of the time. Connecticut was a theocratic commonwealth, and children must be grounded in the principles of religion delivered unto their forebears in England and in the Netherlands.

[50] Wright, T. G.: *Literary Culture in Early New England, 1620-1730*, p. 82. See also chaps. V and X and pp. 224-237 for invoice of book shipments.

Part II.

The Period 1712-1798

V.

Growth of Dissent and Toleration in the Period 1712-1798.

GROWTH of religious dissent and toleration characterized the period from 1712 to 1798. The population had ceased to be homogeneous. Connecticut men no longer held the same views regarding the power of the civil magistrate in ecclesiastical matters. Comparative unanimity within the church in doctrine and polity was giving way to discord. This situation was partially due to the arrival and increase of persons who were not Congregationalists, and who became such an important element in the population that some recognition was necessary. It was also traceable to divisive movements with the Congregational church itself, caused by groups who believed that the union of church and state confirmed by the Saybrook Platform was contrary to the gospel. The established church, once it was established, inevitably became conservative, and some dissent it encountered was due to its own rigidity and coolness. Sections within the church felt it had lost its old-time fervor, and that the only way to be true to their convictions was to withdraw.

The close connection between the church and the civil authority continued throughout the eighteenth century. The General Court, or Assembly, as it became known, had ratified the Saybrook Platform, which recognized the power of the civil magistrate in ecclesiastical matters. In Litchfield, which was typical of other Connecticut towns, all ecclesiastical as well as school affairs were conducted in town meeting until the year 1768.[1] The Court took care that the ministry was properly sup-

[1] White, Alain C.: *Hist. of Litchfield,* p. 31.

ported; it exercised a general supervision over the affairs of the churches; it strove to allay contentions within the churches; it permitted communities to embody into church estate; it annexed or subtracted families from parishes; it commended and permitted collections among the parishes for missionary enterprises without the state; and it provided for the relief of dissenters from ecclesiastical taxes for the established church.

The Court not only ratified the work of the Saybrook Synod, but in May, 1714, it ordered that so many copies of the Saybrook Platform be sent to Hartford "as will make up fifteen hundred with what has been already sent to that and the western counties."[2] Further order was made concerning their distribution in June, 1714.[3] Again in 1759 they voted to have two thousand copies of the Saybrook Platform printed and distributed to the several towns,[4] an enactment which was carried out.[5] These books were divided by the authorities of the towns among the various families. In 1761 Stamford voted "that Col. Hait and Mr. Davenport shall divide the Confessions of Faith, by the first day of March next, on August list, 1760."[6]

Ministerial Support.

During the period 1712-1798, as in the preceding period, the civil authorities of both colony and towns were solicitous for the welfare of ministers and passed numerous acts for their support. These acts generally took the form of empowering towns to levy a rate to enable the inhabitants to pay a minister's salary. An act for this purpose was passed in behalf of Hebron in May, 1713.[7] The pay of Mr. Woodward at Norwich was passed upon in October, 1714, in October, 1715, and in May,

[2] *Conn. Rec.*, V, 1706-1716, p. 423.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 449.
[4] *Ibid.*, XI, 1757-1762, p. 333.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 489.
[6] Huntington, Rev. E. B.: *Hist. of Stamford*, p. 348.
[7] *Conn. Rec.*, V, 1706-1716, pp. 381-382.

A

CONFESSION

OF

FAITH

Owned and Conſented to by the

Elders and Meſſengers

Of the CHURCHES

In the Colony of *CONNECTICUT* in

NEW-ENGLAND,

Aſſembled by Delegation at *Say Brook*
September 9th. 1708.

Eph. 4 5. *One Faith,*

Col. 2 5. *Joying and beholding your Order and the ſteadfaſtneſs of your Faith in Chriſt.*

New-London in N. E.
Printed by Thomas Short,
1710.

Title-page from the famous "Saybrook Platform," for many years held to be the first book printed in Connecticut, an honor which probably belongs to Eliphalet Adams's *Election Sermon.*

1716.[8] The town of Bolton was authorized to set up and maintain the worship of God in October, 1720.[9] An assistant minister was recommended to Fairfield in May, 1725, "by reason of the infirmities that have of a long time attended the Reverend Mr. Joseph Webb."[10] Guilford was allowed to raise money for the minister's salary in October, 1725.[11] These actions are typical of the current legislation in ecclesiastical matters. Either the town meeting or the General Court was the decisive authority in all matters, both civil and spiritual.

Salaries of ministers differed in these years from forty pounds in some places to over one hundred and fifty pounds in others. Cornwall on May 24, 1741, offered the Rev. Solomon Palmer one hundred pounds per year, to be increased by ten pounds annually until his salary should reach one hundred and sixty pounds. In addition he was to receive a large piece of land.[12] The New Cambridge Society of Farmington voted in July, 1747, to pay Mr. Samuel Newell, whom they had called to be their pastor, one hundred and forty pounds in 1749, one hundred and fifty pounds for 1750, one hundred and sixty for 1751, one hundred and eighty for 1752, two hundred for 1753, two hundred and twenty for 1754, two hundred and forty for 1755, two hundred and sixty for 1756, two hundred and eighty for 1757, and three hundred pounds for 1758, which was to be his standing salary, to be paid in colony bills of credit or in good and merchantable grain. They were also to furnish him a sufficiency of firewood.[13] Town as well as colonial records contain a great many notices of actions in behalf of the clergy.[14]

Lots were reserved for the ministry, the meetinghouse, and

[8] *Conn. Rec.*, V, 1706-1716, pp. 468, 527, 555.
[9] *Ibid.*, VI, 1717-1725, p. 216.
[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 547, 548.
[11] *Ibid.*, p. 572.
[12] Gold, T. S.: *Hist. Rec. of the Town of Cornwall*, p. 48.
[13] Smith, Eddy N., et al.: *Bristol*, p. 32.
[14] Taintor, Chas. M.: *Extracts from the Records of Colchester*, pp. 11, 13, 24; Sharpe, W. C.: *Bethany Sketches and Records*, Part 2, p. 138.

the school when towns were laid out. The town of Litchfield, at first called Bantam, was originally divided into sixty proprieties and shared between fifty-seven proprietors, "three proprieties set apart for pious uses, one for the first ordained minister, one for the use of the ministry, and one for the benefit and use of a school."[15] In 1737 East Hartford voted a rate of one shilling sixpence on the pound for erecting a meeting-house.[16] The Congregational or established church ministry was supported by such rates in all the parishes. Enfield in 1793 voted, "for the encouragement and settlement of a minister, that the first minister which shall come and settle among us here at Enfield, to carry on the work of the ministry for his life time, shall have the accommodations of a house lot, that is to say a house lot containing twelve or thirteen acres of land and four score acres of field land, as near and convenient as may be." Provisions for plowing part of the land, for erecting a suitable dwelling and for furnishing firewood were also made. At the conclusion of five or seven years the minister was to have a title to the property for himself and heirs and a yearly salary was to be fixed at fifty-five pounds.[17] This agreement regarding land is representative of the engagements entered into by towns and clergy.

Moneys from the sale of Western Land were available for school purposes only, by a law of 1733.[18] This provision was altered in October, 1737, and allowed towns and parishes by a major vote "to sequester their proportion of such money to the support of the gospel ministry as by the laws of this Colony established."[19] In 1740 the Court enacted that inasmuch as "the said acts are differently understood and like so to be prac-

[15] Extract of letters to Thos. Prince, *circa* 1736, *Conn. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, III, p. 316.

[16] MS. Rec. Town of East Hartford, Conn. State Library, p. 49.

[17] Allen, F. O.: *Hist. of Enfield*, I, p. 285.

[18] *Conn. Rec.*, VII, 1726-1735, p. 459.

[19] *Ibid.*, VIII, 1735-1743, p. 123.

ticed upon to the dissatisfaction of many," they repealed the act of October, 1737.[20]

Connecticut was going through a town-forming epoch. New communities were constantly being formed and were petitioning the towns from which they sprang and the General Court for ecclesiastical privileges. The evolution of new towns forms an interesting subject in itself. The three river towns were the parents of ten others, Windsor of four, Wethersfield of three, and Hartford of three. These outlying settlements were started probably by isolated farmers who lived upon their holdings during the months of cultivation and retired to the established towns during the winter. Later, other settlers would join the original planters and a small community would gradually be formed. The town-forming process was one of gradual accretion. The outlying settlers were kept in communication and contact with the towns by attending services at the town meetinghouse and monthly town meetings. Andrews states that the first centralizing factor drawing the isolated groups away from the parent towns was the establishment of the village pound. "Before the community was recognized as either a religious or a civil unit, before a thought of separation had entered the mind of its founders, it received permission to 'make and maintain a pound.' "[21] The process of separation having once begun, full independence came with the arrival of a sufficient number of inhabitants to satisfy the General Court that the prospective town was able to stand alone. The next step in the process of separation was generally taken by obtaining permission from the parent town, with the approval of the General Court, to levy rates for building a meetinghouse and hiring a minister. In the case of Glastonbury, ecclesiastical and civil liberty were granted at the same time. The Connecticut River lying between the parent town and her offspring gave added

[20] *Conn. Rec.*, VIII, 1735-1743, p. 334.
[21] Andrews, C. M.: *The River Towns of Connecticut*, p. 76.

reason for such action. Church attendance in the winter time for remote settlers was a difficult matter, and this was given in many instances as a reason for petitioning for winter privileges, which were gradually extended to the whole year, with the result that a new parish would be formed. When winter privileges were granted, the General Court generally remitted one-third of the ecclesiastical rates in order that the new centre might have funds to support its minister. In addition, a plot of land was granted for church purposes. When the new community obtained all-year church privileges, the entire ministerial rate was retained. While the inhabitants of the outlying groups gradually obtained their ecclesiastical liberty, they were also achieving political independence. They were electing their own officers, such as fence viewer and surveyor, and had their own pound, their own meetinghouse, and their own ecclesiastical and school committees. The logical next step was to ask for complete civil independence. The parish preceded the formation of new towns from the parent towns. It is improbable that parishes or school districts existed outside the boundary of any town, although research may discover some such units.[22]

Towns and societies which desired the preaching of the gospel separated from the established place of worship were enabled to grant taxes or rates for the maintenance of the minister in May, 1734.[23] The following year the Court passed legislation "directing how the Rates that may be granted in any Town or Ecclesiastical Society for the Support of the Gospel Ministry shall be collected."[24] The town of Torrington was allowed to assess its several holdings twopence per acre for the support of "an orthodox gospel minister within and for said town" in May of 1740.[25] Later in the same year the Court

[22] See Andrews, C. M.: *The River Towns of Connecticut,* pp. 75-81, for a discussion of the evolution of the new towns.

[23] *Conn. Rec.,* VII, 1726-1735, p. 493.

[24] *Ibid.,* p. 554.

[25] *Ibid.,* VIII, 1735-1743, p. 293.

provided that the money raised above the minister's salary should be held toward the expenses of building a meeting-house.[26] Liberty to secure "some orthodox and suitably qualified person to preach to them for the space of six months annually" was granted to sundry persons in the town of "Farmington" in October, 1742.[27] The Court took care in May, 1745, that the estates sequestered for the support of the ministry should receive proper attention.[28] When Poquannock was destitute of a minister for "many years," the Assembly in May, 1765, appointed a committee to see what could be done by way of uniting it to other societies.[29] A similar action was taken in October, 1767, in regard to the second church and society in Lyme, when they were for six years without a minister.[30] The government continued to have an eye for the welfare of the ministry, and in 1770 the Assembly exempted the estates of all dissenters from the payment of taxes.[31] This legislation marked a distinct advance in religious toleration in Connecticut. It is probable that the duty of collecting the ecclesiastical rates or taxes was not always a pleasant duty, for we find the Court in May, 1774, enacting legislation directing "the payment of fines inflicted on Society Collectors for not accepting and executing their office."[32]

The Care of the Churches.

The Court exercised a general supervision over the affairs of the churches, dealing with various situations and questions which arose from time to time. Throughout this period, as previously, the General Court annexed or subtracted families

[26] *Conn. Rec.*, VIII, 1735-1743, pp. 336-337.
[27] *Ibid.*, p. 500.
[28] *Ibid.*, IX, 1744-1750, p. 120.
[29] *Ibid.*, XII, 1762-1767, pp. 398-399.
[30] *Ibid.*, p. 638.
[31] *Ibid.*, XIII, 1768-1772, p. 360.
[32] *Ibid.*, XIV, 1772-1775, p. 260.

from parishes.[33] In October, 1741, John Norton was dismissed from the fourth society of Guilford and joined to the first society.[34] Liberty was granted the inhabitants of Salisbury to "embody into church estate" in 1741.[35] The records constantly refer to permissions granted to the inhabitants of various towns to embody into church estate. An unusual incident occurred in the permission to build the church at Stonington, where the inhabitants were reputed to be very poor and unable to erect a meetinghouse. The Assembly gave those in charge permission in October, 1774, to run a lottery to raise four hundred pounds for this purpose.[36] The Governor in October, 1751, laid an order of his Majesty in Council before the Assembly, regarding a form of prayer for the royal family, with an order to the Governor and Company of the Colony to publish it in the several parish churches and other places of divine worship. The Assembly resolved to comply with the request.[37]

In seeking to preserve the peace of the churches, the General Court not infrequently intervened in disturbances within the various societies. Contentions often arose in the parishes in regard to the erection of meetinghouses. Beach gives an interesting account of the negotiations leading to the separation of Cheshire from Wallingford in the years 1718 to 1724.[38] In May, 1721, the Assembly intervened in a church quarrel in Stratford, when that church was unable to agree about settling a minister. A General Association was ordered, "pursuant to the articles of agreement concluded upon at Saybrook, September 9th, 1708," which was to give advice, the costs of which were to be paid by Stratford.[39] In 1731 the Assembly

[33] *Conn. Rec.*, VIII, 1735-1743, p. 334.
[34] *Ibid.*, p. 438.
[35] *Ibid.*, p. 427.
[36] *Ibid.*, XIV, 1772-1775, pp. 373, 374.
[37] *Conn. Rec.*, X, 1751-1757, p. 65.
[38] Beach, J. P.: *Hist. of Cheshire*, pp. 70-77.
[39] *Conn. Rec.*, VI, 1717-1725, pp. 249-250.

passed an "Act directing how to proceed when it shall be necessary to build a Meeting House for Divine Worship."[40] Action occurred upon the feasibility of erecting a meetinghouse in the west parish of Norwich in 1740,[41] and with the town of Goshen in 1741.[42] Further provisions as to how to proceed when it should be necessary to build a meetinghouse for divine worship were passed in October, 1748.[43] North Stratford experienced difficulty in settling a minister in 1746 and craved the assistance of the Assembly.[44] Norwich Second Society in October, 1747, being divided and dissenting from the Saybrook Platform, and fearing trouble when they should shut their present minister out of the pulpit, prayed the interposition of the Court.[45] The Court acted upon their memorial in May and October of the following year, in October of 1749, and in October, 1750.[46]

Dissension at Branford existing in 1748, the Assembly recommended that they call in the pastors of several designated churches to advise with them in the settlement of the dispute.[47] Like troubles occurred in New Salem in 1748.[48]

Few years passed without some instance of interference by the civil authority in some church disturbance. The Assembly, having a "tender regard for all concerned," thought proper in October, 1751, to advise in the continued separation and dissension in the first church of New Haven; whereupon it recommended to the society and church to invite in "a wise, indifferent, and judicious council of elders and messengers" to help

[40] *Conn. Rec.*, VII, 1726-1735, pp. 334-335.
[41] *Ibid.*, VIII, 1732-1743, p. 344.
[42] *Ibid.*, p. 438.
[43] *Ibid.*, IX, 1744-1750, pp. 398-399.
[44] *Ibid.*, p. 203.
[45] *Ibid.*, p. 337.
[46] *Ibid.*, pp. 380, 397, 480, 571.
[47] *Ibid.*, p. 218.
[48] *Ibid.*, p. 371.

them out of their difficulty.[49] In May, 1768, it appointed a committee to consider an adjustment of the minister's salary in East Haddam, a matter which required further attention and the appointment of a second committee in January of the following year.[50] Similar ecclesiastical troubles were adjusted by the Assembly in Meriden, Kensington, New Canaan, Somers, Lebanon, and Stonington in the years 1768 to 1775.[51]

Missionary Offerings Outside the State.

The Assembly or General Court not only assumed the position of guardian over the churches in Connecticut, but in a few instances it permitted and commended missionary offerings for institutions without the state. In April, 1722, the petition of several ministers that an offering be taken among the various congregations for missionary work in Providence was granted.[52] In May, 1724, the Assembly recorded, "Upon application to this Court, to encourage the building and furnishing a meeting house in Providence, it is allowed that a brief be emitted for that end."[53] The Assembly, having an eye to the endeavors of the Honourable Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge to further the gospel among the Indians, granted them liberty in May, 1752, to "ask the contributions of the several religious societies and congregations throughout this Colony."[54] Another case of the Assembly's exhibiting a missionary interest is shown in its action upon a memorial by Rev. Solomon Williams of Lebanon in behalf of the Congregational church in Nova Scotia, which was suffering from severe financial difficulties. The Court gave Williams leave in October, 1771, to ask a charitable contribution from several churches

[49] *Conn. Rec.*, X, 1751-1757, p. 43.
[50] *Ibid.*, XIII, 1768-1772, pp. 40-41, 159.
[51] See *Conn. Rec.* for those years.
[52] *Conn. Rec.*, VI, 1717-1725, p. 303.
[53] *Ibid.*, p. 465.
[54] *Ibid.*, X, 1751-1757, pp. 97-98.

and commended the church in Nova Scotia to their Christian liberality.[55] Upon the petition of the General Association, a missionary offering within all the churches of the state was ordered in 1792 for the work of the missionaries in the western lands, the proceeds to be paid over to Ezra Stiles, Nathan Williams, and Jonathan Edwards.[56]

Toleration and Dissent.

The Episcopalians had been accorded little courtesy during the seventeenth century. They were at first socially ostracized, as representatives of that party which had caused so much suffering in the homeland. After the first quarter of the eighteenth century, however, they achieved a fair degree of toleration and exemption from ecclesiastical taxes for the support of the established church.

During the whole of the eighteenth century the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts was the chief instrument of the English established church in planting Episcopal churches in the American colonies. This organization was chartered by William III in 1701. While the Episcopal church enjoyed a large measure of popularity at home, it was extremely weak in the colonies, especially in Connecticut and the rest of New England. Only Virginia and Maryland had an effectively established Anglican church. Inasmuch as there was no resident bishop, confirmation could not be administered. Although the Bishop of London had a representative in Virginia, the Governor took unto himself most of the Episcopal jurisdiction. The Society for Propagating the Gospel was launched in a time when the merchants and rulers in England were succeeding in a plan of imperialism and the idea of the extension of

[55] *Conn. Rec.*, XIII, 1768-1772, pp. 567-568.

[56] *Acts and Laws*, 1792, p. 453. Also, *A Narrative of the Missions to the New Settlements*, 1798, p. 1.

the jurisdiction of the national church was quite natural.[57] The founders and promoters were probably swayed for the most part by genuine religious motives, inasmuch as many had been engaged in philanthropy and other works of religion. The Society for Propagating the Gospel, although not technically an official agency of the Anglican church, nevertheless maintained close relations with that body and with the Bishop of London, who had general oversight of Episcopalian interests in the colonies. It was continually faced with debt, notwithstanding the richly endowed English church it represented. Some missionaries received as low as fifty pounds per annum, with a modest allowance for books and the twenty pounds crown bonus given to clergy entering the colonial service. In addition to ministers, the Society sent out some schoolmasters as well. The field and the stipend were not attractive to many of the best English clergy, and the missionaries were quite often of an inferior character.[58]

The chief purpose of the Society for Propagating the Gospel was undoubtedly to win the colonists to the Anglican mode of worship and church government; and secondly, to convert the heathen. Both objects were constantly kept in view.

Puritan communities, such as Connecticut, were considered as especially fertile fields for labor, not only because of doctrinal differences, but also on the ground that so many failed to attend the sacraments of the church. The Half-Way Covenant had developed a large number who were not partakers of the Holy Communion. From the Anglican point of view, the sacraments were of the utmost importance. They regarded the limitations upon membership, and therefore upon participation in the sacraments, which obtained in Connecticut churches, as

[57] Greene, Evarts B.: "The Anglican Outlook on The American Colonies in the Early Eighteenth Century," *American Historical Review*, XX, 1914-1915, p. 64.

[58] *Ibid.*, p. 68.

an obstacle placed in the way of those seeking God's altar. The missionaries of the S. P. G. had even stronger reasons for proselytizing among the Quakers and Baptists.

The Society produced substantial results in the way of planting churches. The comparative weakness of the Episcopal church in the colonies was due to the fact that its clergy were advocates of traditional and conservative ideals both in religion and politics, while colonial life developed a disregard for the dignity of Old World tradition and a spirit of independence which was to find its expression in the struggle of the Revolutionary War. The first Episcopal efforts toward church settlement in Connecticut came in 1706.[59] The following year Mr. Muirson and a Colonel Heathcote, the former an S. P. G. missionary, located at Rye, New York, made a second trip to Stratford for the purpose of establishing an Episcopal church. Colonel Heathcote wrote of their first visit: "We found that Colony much as we expected, very ignorant of the Constitution of our Church, and therefore Enemies to it. The towns are furnished with Ministers, chiefly Independents, denying Baptism to the children of all such as are not in full communion with them, there are many thousands in that government unbaptized. The ministers were very uneasy at our coming among them, and abundance of pains were taken to terrify the People from hearing Mr. Muirson. But it avail'd nothing, for notwithstanding all their endeavours, we had a very great congregation, and indeed infinitely beyond expectation. The people were wonderfully surprised at the order of our Church, expecting to have heard and seen some strange thing, by the accounts and representation of it that their teachers had given them. Mr. Muirson baptized about 25, most grown people, at Stratford."[60]

[59] Beardsley, Rev. E. E.: *Hist. of the Episcopal Church in Conn.*, I, p. 20. For a general account of the rise of the Episcopal Church in America, see White, William: *Memoirs of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America*, New York, 1836.

[60] Humphreys, David: *An Historical Account of the Incorporated Society*

Important legislation passed by the May Court of 1727 provided that in parishes wherein a Church of England society was situated, wherein a person in orders according to the Church of England canons performed divine services, after making an equal levy upon all, the collectors should turn over the ecclesiastical rates *pro rata* to such persons as had declared themselves of the Episcopal persuasion, for the support of their minister, which minister should have full power to receive and recover such rates.[61]

Episcopal churches were usually begun by a few who gathered for worship according to the form of the Church of England. In time the group would enlarge and request a minister and exemption from the meetinghouse and ministerial rates of the Congregational church. The history of the Bristol Episcopalians is typical of the procedure generally followed. In January, 1749, the town clerk recorded: "It was agreed upon and voted between the present churchmen that are amongst us . . . that they paying all their ministerial rates to us for the year past and half their ministerial rates for the future until they have a lawful minister according to the Canons of the Church of England which may require and recover their rates by laws of the government set over them, we the society would forgive or relinquish to them two rates which was laid the year past, viz. a two shilling rate and a four shilling rate and all other charge that shall arise for the furnishing the meeting house and Mr. Newell's wood."[62]

After the settling of Mr. Pigot as Episcopal minister in Strat-

for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1730, p. 314. In 1703 the S. P. G. reported that no Episcopal congregation existed in Connecticut, however missionary labors may have been carried on prior to that date. Report of S. P. G. printed in Anderson, J. S. M.: *The History of the Church of England in the Colonies and Foreign Dependencies of the British Empire,* II, p. 763; a valuable source of information on the S. P. G.

[61] *Conn. Rec.,* VII, 1726-1735, pp. 106-107.

[62] Smith, Eddy N., et al.: *Bristol,* p. 31.

ford in 1722, followed by Rev. Samuel Johnson in 1723, other parishes were quickly organized. Christ Church in West Haven was formed in 1723, Trinity in Southport in 1725, St. James in New London in 1725, Trinity Parish in Newton in 1732, and St. James Parish in Poquetanuck in 1734.[63] In all, forty-two Episcopal parishes had been organized in Connecticut by the year 1770, largely through the efforts of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. According to Dr. Samuel Harte, forty-three candidates for Episcopal orders crossed the ocean before the Revolution, of whom six lost their lives. Hebron sent out four young men in succession. The first perished in a French prison, a second died of smallpox, one was lost at sea, and one accomplished the purpose of his journey and came back to minister to his parish. The war put an end to the work of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, but as soon as the conflict ceased Samuel Seabury crossed the ocean and came back as Bishop of Connecticut, the first Episcopal bishop in the United States.[64]

The General Court, in order to strengthen the position of the established church, enacted in May, 1721, "That whatsoever person shall not duly attend the public worship of God on the Lord's Day in some congregation by law allowed, unless hindered by sickness or otherwise necessarily detained, and be thereof convicted before an assistant or justice of the peace, either by confession or sufficient witnesses, or being presented to such authority for such neglect shall not be able to prove to the satisfaction of the said authority that he or she has attended the said worship, shall incur the penalty of five shillings money for every said offence." Other stringent provisions followed for the prevention of profanation of the Sabbath.[65]

[63] *Sketches of Church Life in Colonial Conn.*, edited by Lucy Cushing Jarvis, 1902, wherein a brief account is given of forty-two Episcopal parishes.

[64] Harte, Samuel: address in *Sketches of Church Life in Colonial Conn.*, edited by Lucy Cushing Jarvis, 1902, p. 20.

[65] *Conn. Rec.*, VI, 1717-1725, pp. 248-249.

Further legislation was passed in October of the same year for "the more effectual preventing the profanation of the Lord's Day, and any disturbance of the public meetings by law established or allowed for divine worship." Each town was to choose two or more tithingmen, who should be sworn to faithfully discharge their duties. If they neglected or refused to take such oath, they were to be fined forty shillings. Each of the grand jurymen and tithingmen and constables of each town were to "carefully inspect the behavior of all persons on the Sabbath or Lord's Day, especially between the meetings for divine worship on the said day, whether in the place of such public meeting or elsewhere." Any offenses were to be reported to the next assistant or justice of the peace, and if the offenders were convicted they were to receive a fine of not exceeding five shillings to be paid to the treasurer of the town.[66]

Two years later, in 1723, the General Court passed another act for the prevention of disorders in the worship of God. Certain persons are affirmed "without the least pretense or color of being ordained" to have nevertheless "presumed to gather together in a tumultuous manner and take upon them to administer the sacrament of baptism, to the great abuse and profanation of that holy ordinance." The Court thereupon enacted that any persons who should neglect the worship of God "in some lawful congregation" and form themselves into separate companies should upon conviction forfeit the sum of twenty shillings. Any person not being a "lawful or allowed minister of the gospel" who should administer the sacrament and be convicted before the County Court in such county where the offense should be committed should incur a penalty of ten pounds or suffer punishment by whipping not to exceed thirty stripes for each offense.[67]

The Quakers and Baptists, although their coming in any con-

[66] *Conn. Rec.*, VI, 1717-1725, p. 277.
[67] *Ibid.*, pp. 401-402.

siderable numbers was delayed until the early eighteenth century, had much the same history as the Episcopalians. They were despised as heartily as the Church of England had despised the early Puritans and Separatists. New Haven Colony denied them the franchise. They were compelled to pay ecclesiastical taxes for the upkeep of the established church in most Connecticut parishes, even after toleration was granted them to worship after their own desire. Gradually during the eighteenth century the Baptists and Quakers, as well as the Episcopalians, were exempted from paying rates or taxes for the established church and were allowed to tax their own members for the support of their ministry and the erection and upkeep of meetinghouses.

Because of their democratic tendencies and social usages, the Quakers were by their very nature a thorn in the side of the Congregationalists, who considered disrespect to magistrates and ministers in the same category with blasphemy. The Quakers differed from the established church in that they held the doctrine that God would illuminate the individual human heart, while the Puritan position was that authority was to be found in the Bible. The Puritans attached great solemnity and value to the sacraments, while the Quakers maintained they were but shadows and of no great importance. The established church prided itself on its trained and salaried ministry, while the Quakers were outspoken against what they termed a hireling ministry and found their leadership among the abler and more spiritual in the rank and file of their membership.

Quakers were granted a measure of relief in May, 1729. Upon the production of a certificate from societies to which they had joined themselves, they were to be free from contributing to the support of the established ministry and from paying any tax which might be levied for the building of any meetinghouse or houses in the society or parish where they lived.[68] A

[68] *Conn. Rec.*, VII, 1726-1735, p. 237.

like provision was made for Baptists in October, 1729.[69] The Court expressly ordered in October, 1730, that "any such persons as profess themselves of the Congregational or Presbyterian persuasion (so-called) since they are allowed and under the protection of our laws," should not claim benefit of the act for the "ease of such as soberly dissent from the way of worship and ministry established by the laws of this government."[70] The General Court was not, however, willing to grant such privileges and immunities without attaching some disability. Such dissenters as were exempted from the ecclesiastical contributions were denied a right to vote in the society meetings in May, 1746.[71]

The "Great Awakening," as the extensive revival movement in 1740-1741 became known, created divisions among the Congregationalists which lessened the strength of that church in opposing Episcopalians, Quakers, and other sects filtering in from surrounding colonies and from overseas. The revival movement had been attended in many places with physical manifestations and extravagances which were an offense to many conservative Congregational people. A number of ignorant exhorters also helped to bring revival methods into disrepute and caused the established church people to react still further. The more evangelistic, and as a rule more emotional and less educated, separated and joined the dissenters in opposing the established church. Some of their leaders held "that if a man had the spirit of God, it was no matter whether he had any learning at all."[72] It would, however, be unfair to judge this

[69] *Conn. Rec.*, VII, 1726-1735, p. 257.

[70] *Ibid.*, p. 309.

[71] *Ibid.*, IX, 1744-1750, p. 218. For a short discussion of the reaction toward the religious ideas of earlier days in the early years of the eighteenth century, see Adams, J. T.: *Revolutionary New England, 1691-1776*, pp. 35-36, 96-97, 195-196.

See also the same author, *The Founding of New England*, chap. XI and pp. 451, *seq.*, for a treatment of the forces which lessened the authority of the clergy.

[72] Trumbull, Benjamin: *Hist. of Conn.*, 1818, II, pp. 171-172.

movement, which was partly a reaction against the coldness and rigidity of the established church, by its worst elements. In a justification of their position, the Separates themselves, as they became known, lamented the actions of the extremists within their group: "Our first withdrawal from the established Churches was much like Israel's coming out of Egypt, a mixed multitude came out also; and seemed to answer the same purpose, i.e., to be a trouble and a vexation to us, and to bring a reproach and scandal upon the work of God."[73] The Separates were also called New Lights, by way of distinction from the more conservative Congregationalists or Old Lights.

No legal provision had been made for members of Congregational churches to withdraw from membership. They were not contemplated in acts for the "ease" of those who should differ in their convictions from the ministry and worship established by law. Those desiring separation could become Baptists, Episcopalians, or Quakers, and thus escape ecclesiastical taxes for the upkeep of the ministry and worship of the established church, after such bodies were allowed to tax themselves, and were exempted from ecclesiastical rates for the benefit of Congregational churches.[74] Many of those separating from the Congregational church joined the Baptists, while "large numbers . . . broke away from their former associations and fled for comfort and quietness to the bosom of the Church of Eng-

[73] See *An Historical Narrative and Declaration, Showing the Cause and Rise of the Strict Congregational Churches, In the State of Connecticut, And their present Views respecting several interesting Matters of a religious Nature. Also, a Profession of their Faith; And several Heads of Agreement respecting Church Discipline agreed upon by a number of Strict Congregational Churches convened by Delegation at Killingly, September 19, 1781. To which is added, An Address to the several Churches: And a Letter upon the Subject of Ordination.* Providence, 1781, p. 12. The volume is in the Watkinson Library, Hartford. It is also available as reprinted in full in Allen, F. O.: *Hist. of Enfield,* II, pp. 1531-1552. This treatise is a statement representing the conservative element among the Separates and takes notice of errors and mistakes of the overzealous. It is one of the best accounts of the Separate movement after the "Great Awakening."

[74] Walker, W.: *Hist. of the Congregationalists in the U. S.*, p. 235.

land."[75] Cotton Mather remarked: "In a few of the towns, a few of the people, in hope of being released from the tax for the legal minister, sometimes profess themselves Episcopalians."[76]

Separations in the Congregational bodies benefited the Baptist churches, which were on the increase, due to the coming in of Baptists from the outside and the vigor of their ministry. In 1740 there were only four Baptist churches in Connecticut; by 1768 the number had increased to twelve; twenty-two years later, in 1790, Newman stated that there were fifty-five churches and 3,214 members within the state.[77] The Baptists formed the Stonington Association in 1772 and the Groton Conference in 1785. The latter was dissolved in a few years and the regular Baptist churches joined the Stonington group under the title of the Stonington Union Association. The Hartford Association was formed in 1789, the Danbury in 1790, the New London in 1817, the Ashford in 1824, the New Haven in 1825, and the Fairfield in 1837.[78] Several "Separate" congregations, as a result of the pressure of antagonistic laws as well as through internal dissensions, were absorbed by the old Congregationalists or had become Baptists within a score of years after the "Great Awakening." Sometimes whole Separatist congregations went over to the Baptists, as was the case in the Third Middletown or Wethersfield Church.[79]

The General Association endeavored to conciliate those who differed from Congregationalism. In 1741, in order to prevent "hard thoughts and hasty censures," the Association voted to recommend to the particular Associations "to be very free to inform each other of their sentiments in the great doctrines

[75] Beardsley, E. E.: *Life and Correspondence of Samuel Johnson,* p. 107; see also Orcutt, Rev. Samuel: *Hist. of the Old Town of Derby,* p. 137.

[76] Mather, Cotton: *Ratio Disciplinae,* p. 21.

[77] Newman, A. H.: *Hist. of the Baptist Churches in the U. S.,* 1894, p. 271.

[78] Evans, Philip S.: *Hist. of the Conn. Baptist Convention,* 1823-1907, p. 11.

[79] *Ibid.,* p. 10.

of religion, and to endeavor to know whether they are in the same way of thinking on the Calvinistical doctrines and particularly on the nature of conversion and regeneration; and they be free in conversing together on experimental religion and be agreed how far the Christian law of mutual forbearance and charity ought to extend with respect to these matters."[80] Whatever measure the Congregationalists took proved futile to stop the growth of dissenting bodies and to prevent separations within the established churches.

The attitude of the Congregationalists against those who were thus separating from its own membership was succinctly brought out by Ebenezer Frothingham when he remarked: "They that justify our forefathers in their contending for their right, in matters of conscience and practice in religion, and condemn the Separates that have withdrew, or dissented from the consociated churches of this Colony, and through the knowledge of the truth, set up and organized churches, may read their character in Matt. 23, 29. to the end: for you condemn those that persecuted and oppressed our Godly forefathers; and you yourselves are doing the same things," etc.[81]

The purpose of Frothingham's book, *A Key to Unlock the Door,* was in part to refute the arguments of a publication of Mr. Ross of Stratfield, entitled *A Plain Address to the Quakers, Moravians, Separates, Separate-Baptists, Rogereens and Enthusiasts, on immediate Impulses and Revelation,* etc.[82]

The controversy between the Old Lights and the New Lights was especially fierce during the year 1741. The extravagant methods of the revivalists were the chief ground of objection. The Hartford North Association, under date of August 11, 1741,

[80] *Rec. of Gen. Asso. of Congregational Churches,* 1738-1799 (ed. 1888), pp. 9-10.

[81] Frothingham, Ebenezer: *A Key to Unlock the Door that leads in, to take a Fair View of that Religious Constitution, Established by Law, in the Colony of Connecticut,* 1767, pp. VI-VII.

[82] *Ibid.,* p. 11.

recorded: "Whether any weight ought to be laid upon those screachings, cryings-out, faintings and convulsions which sometimes attend ye terrifying language of some preachers and others, as evidences of, or necessary to, a genuine conviction of sin, humiliation, and preparation for Christ? Agreed in the negative, as also that there is no weight to be laid upon these visions or visional discoveries by some of late pretended to, viz.: as represented to ye eyes of ye body."[83]

The Separate movement so threatened the peace and harmony of the churches that the Assembly in October of 1741 ordered that inasmuch as several ministers proposed to have a general Consociation of the churches of the Colony, to consist of three ministers and three messengers from each particular consociation, to meet at Guilford on the 24th of November next, the Assembly hoped that such a general convention would issue in the accommodation of divisions and promote the true interest of vital religion, and resolved that the charge and expense should be borne by the government.[84]

The ministers and messengers met at Guilford on November 24, 1741. Philemon Robbins records that they drew up sundry resolves, among which is the following: "That for a minister to enter into another Minister's parish, and preach or administer the Seals of the Covenant, without the consent of, or in opposition to the settled minister of the parish, is disorderly. Notwithstanding, if a considerable number of people in the parish, are desirous to hear another minister preach, provided the same be orthodox, and found in the Faith, and not notoriously faulty, in censuring other persons, or guilty of any scandal, we think it ordinarily advisable for the minister of the parish to gratify them by giving his consent upon their suitable application to him for it, unless neighboring ministers should advise him to

[83] Quoted by Means, O. W.: in *The Strict Congregational Church of Enfield*, p. 24.

[84] *Conn. Rec.*, VIII, 1735-1743, pp. 438-439.

the contrary."[85] Joseph Tracy stated, "It is believed that no account can be found of the doings of the Convention at Guilford, or of the instructions given at New Haven to the delegates, except what Robbins has preserved, which is here given."[86]

The results of the Guilford Consociation evidently found favor in the eyes of the General Court, for in May, 1742, they not only voted money to defray the expense of the meeting, but also passed a long act for "Regulating Abuses and Correcting Disorders in Ecclesiastical Affairs," which took cognizance of the fact that ministers were preaching and teaching in parishes under the care of other ministers without any lawful call.[87] Sundry other persons, "some of whom were very illiterate," who had no ecclesiastical standing or character whatsoever, were essaying to publicly teach and exhort, which tended to divisions, and hindered the "increase of vital piety and Godliness." Considering this situation the Court enacted that "if any ordained minister, or other person licensed as aforesaid to preach, shall enter into any parish not immediately under his charge, and shall there preach or exhort the people, [he] shall be denied and secluded the benefit of any law of this Colony made for the support of the ministry, except such ordained minister or licensed person as shall be expressly invited and desired so to enter into such other parish and there to preach and exhort the people."[88] Further regulations upon related matters were passed in the same enactment.

The arrest of James Davenport and Benjamin Pomroy was ordered in May, 1742, for preaching in parishes without being

[85] Robbins, Philemon: *A Plain Narrative of the Proceedings of the Reverend Association and Consociation of New Haven County against the Reverend Mr. Robbins of Branford, since the Year, 1741.* Boston, 1747.

[86] Tracy, Joseph: *The Great Awakening, A History of the Revival of Religion in the Time of Edwards and Whitefield,* p. 303, note.

[87] *Conn. Rec.,* VIII, 1735-1743, p. 468.

[88] *Ibid.,* pp. 454-455.

lawfully called but the Court records in the minutes of the same assembly that Pomroy was dismissed upon insufficient evidence. No further mention is made of Davenport.[89] Further action was taken against Pomroy in May, 1744, but in May of 1748 the Court recorded that whereas Pomroy had been deprived of benefit of the laws made for the support of the gospel ministry, he had of late conformed to the colony laws and had performed his ministerial office in a satisfactory manner, and that he should in the future have the benefit of the said laws.[90] In May, 1743, the Assembly took notice of one John Owen, of the first society of Groton, who "from the pulpit did utter, speak, publish and declare, divers false words and sentences, unjustly reproaching and scandalizing the laws and ruling part of this government," whereupon the Assembly directed a writ to be issued ordering Owen before the October session.[91] However, Mr. Owen left the jurisdiction and the Assembly were able only to direct the sheriff of New London County to deliver him up.[92] Later Owen asked pardon of the Court for his misdoings and was restored to the good graces of the government in May, 1744.[93] In October of 1743 the Assembly passed a stringent law relative to the bonding and apprehension of such ministers as should be sent out of the colony and who should return.[94] Rev. Samuel Finley of New Jersey, who later became president of Princeton, had been sent out of the colony for preaching at Milford, contrary to the law of 1742. He returned and preached at New Haven, which occasioned the further legislation upon the matter in October, 1673.[95]

The Separates were a thorn in the side of the Congregation-

[89] *Conn. Rec.*, VIII, 1735-1743, pp. 482-484.
[90] *Ibid.*, IX, 1744-1750, p. 375.
[91] *Ibid.*, VIII, 1735-1743, pp. 519-520.
[92] *Ibid.*, pp. 555-556.
[93] *Ibid.*, IX, 1744-1750, p. 20.
[94] *Ibid.*, VIII, 1735-1743, pp. 569-570.
[95] See Bachus, Isaac: *An Abridgement of the Church History of New-England from 1602-1804.* Boston, 1804, p. 172.

alists, who endeavored by unfavorable legislation to discourage their growth. In October of 1742 the Assembly took action against a school which they had started at New London.[96] This school of the New Lights, as the Separates were called, was known as The Shepherd's Tent. It was conducted by Rev. Timothy Allen, who had been dismissed from West Haven in May, 1742, and was designed as a place to train young men to become exhorters, teachers, and ministers.[97]

As a part of the same legislation directed against the Separatists, the General Court provided "That no person that has not been educated or graduated in Yale College, or Harvard College in Cambridge, or some other allowed foreign protestant college or university, shall take the benefit of the laws of this government respecting the settlement and support of ministers."[98]

The whole situation aroused by the New Lights so alarmed the Assembly that in May, 1743, they repealed the law entitled "An Act for the ease of such as soberly dissent from the way of worship and ministry," passed in May, 1708.[99] This law was proving a source of growing difficulty and misunderstanding. The grounds given were that Presbyterians and Congregationalists who were not intended to take advantage of this law, whose division would weaken the churches established by the ratification of the Saybrook Platform in 1708, were nevertheless separating.[100]

Although the Congregational majority were thoroughly alarmed and were determined to put down any divisions within their own ranks as well as to permit no usurpation of their power by other sects, nevertheless the pressure of considerable numbers without their fold forced them to yield concessions year

[96] *Conn. Rec.*, VIII, 1735-1743, pp. 500-502.
[97] See Caulkins, F. M.: *Hist. of New London*, p. 453.
[98] *Conn. Rec.*, VIII, 1735-1743, p. 502.
[99] See *ibid.*, V, 1706-1716, p. 50.
[100] *Ibid.*, VIII, 1735-1743, p. 522.

by year to petitioning congregations. Upon a memorial presented to the Assembly in October, 1752, the Church of England inhabitants of Newtown were not only allowed exemption from the tax for the established church, but were "fully authorized and empowered, exclusive of such professors therein, to grant such rates or taxes in their town meetings as they shall from time to time judge needful for the support of their minister and other society disbursements, as fully as other societies in this government by law are enabled to do."[101]

The attitude of the Assembly grew increasingly liberal. In October, 1755, they exempted the Separates of Killingly from paying rates toward the support of the ministry and the upkeep of the meetinghouse.[102] A similar relief was given a Baptist Congregation at Enfield in May, 1757.[103] The Church of England within the society of Fairfield, experiencing great difficulty in keeping their meetinghouse in repair through having no power to tax themselves, were authorized to "vote to grant such rates and taxes to be levied and collected from such professors as aforesaid as shall be necessary for the purpose of repairing such meeting house or church."[104] To aid the Episcopal church in this manner in the early days of Connecticut's settlement would have been an impossible achievement.

The Baptists of Enfield, upon petition to the Assembly in May, 1764, were relieved from paying taxes for the support of the established clergy or for the repair of meetinghouses.[105] The Assembly, upon receiving a memorial from the Baptists in Lyme that they might form a distinct ecclesiastical society, appointed a committee to inquire into the matter.

Although the government was becoming more lenient in its treatment of Baptists and other dissenters, it was not in 1769

[101] *Conn. Rec.*, X, 1751-1757, pp. 132-133.
[102] *Ibid.*, p. 429.
[103] *Ibid.*, XI, 1757-1762, p. 34.
[104] *Ibid.*, p. 529.
[105] *Ibid.*, XII, 1762-1767, p. 271.

willing to let Baptist clergymen solemnize marriages. In January of that year it fined one Joseph Meacham twenty pounds for marrying a couple, but later abated the fine upon a plea of ignorance of the law by the offender.[106] Baptists in 1774 were exempted from the ecclesiastical tax for the support of the ministry and meetinghouse in Suffield, "so long as they continue to attend public worship with the Baptists agreeable to law."[107] The Turkey Hills Society voted liberties on January 11, 1786, to Baptist ministers who were in good standing to preach in the meetinghouse of that society occasionally,[108] an action which was reconsidered and disallowed on November 5, 1787.[109]

Episcopalians, as well as Separates and Baptists, benefited by their hard-won toleration. In October, 1770, Church of England men were relieved from paying a tax for the erection of a meetinghouse in Brooklyn.[110] In the following year they were not only relieved from paying further moneys by way of ecclesiastical taxes, but money actually paid was ordered to be returned.[111] Upon a petition of certain Episcopalians of New Milford, they were authorized to enforce collection of taxes already granted in the same manner that other taxes were collected, and were empowered to tax themselves for ecclesiastical purposes from time to time as they found occasion.[112]

Toleration and religious freedom were greatly aided after 1750 through vigorous discussion of the issues at stake by various writers. The revision of the laws of 1750 omitted any persecuting acts, although it retained the Saybrook Platform. That

[106] *Conn. Rec.*, XIII, 1768-1772, pp. 160-161.
[107] *Ibid.*, XIV, 1772-1775, p. 286.
[108] *East Granby Parish Records*, edited by A. C. Bates (1901), 1737-1791, p. 53.
[109] *Ibid.*, p. 56.
[110] *Conn. Rec.*, XIII, 1768-1772, p. 397.
[111] *Ibid.*, pp. 548-549.
[112] *Ibid.*, pp. 329-330.

same year Ebenezer Frothingham, a Separatist, issued a book in defense of their position entitled *The Articles of Faith and Practice,* in which he set forth the Separate cause and vigorously attacked the system compelling persons to pay for the support of the established church, declaring that a religion which has not authority enough within itself to call forth support without the compulsion and devices of the civil authority is a false religion. Solomon Paine published in 1752 *A Short View of the Difference between the Church of Christ and the Established Churches in the Colony of Connecticut.* In 1755 President Clapp, a spokesman for conservative Congregationalism, published his *Brief History and Vindication of the Doctrines Received and Established in the Churches of New England with a Specimen of the New Scheme of Religion beginning to prevail.* To this, in 1757, Thomas Darling, a Separate, made a caustic answer in *Some Remarks on President Clapp's History,* a book of one hundred and twenty-seven pages. John Bolles, a Seventh Day Baptist, issued *To Worship God in Spirit and in Truth is to Worship Him in True Liberty of Conscience* in 1756. Robert Ross, pastor of the church in Stratfield, a defender of the established church, issued his *Plain Address to the Quakers, Moravians, Separatists, Separate-Baptists, Rogerenes, and other Enthusiasts on Immediate Impulses and Revelations,* etc., a two hundred and fourteen page polemic against those who were dissatisfied with the established religion, in 1762. Frothingham's *Key to Unlock the Door,* brought out in 1767, was perhaps the most effective piece of literature put forth by the dissenters. Other important works of the second half of the eighteenth century were Robert Bragge's *Church Discipline According to Its Ancient Standard, as It was Practised in Primitive Times,* reprinted in 1768 at New London from the London edition of 1738, and Joseph Brown's *Letter to the Infant Baptizers of North Parish of New London,* in 1767,

a defense of Baptist views. In 1757 the *Connecticut Gazette* made its first appearance, followed seven years later by the *Connecticut Courant*. These and other newspapers served as controversial mediums in the struggle for religious freedom.

The dissenters were gradually gaining their objectives. In 1770 the Assembly enacted that "no persons in this Colony professing the Christian protestant religion, who soberly and conscientiously dissent from the worship and ministry established or approved by the laws of this Colony and attend public worship by themselves shall incur any of the penalties . . . for not attending the worship and ministry so established on the Lord's Day on account of their meeting by themselves on said day for the public worship of God in a way agreeable to their consciences."[113]

In October of the same year the estates of all ministers were exempted from taxation. In 1777 an "Act for exempting those Persons in this State, commonly styled Separates from Taxes for the support of the established Ministry and building and repairing Meeting Houses" was passed. The law required that a certificate be lodged annually with the clerk of the society wherein they lived, stating that they attended and supported their own worship.[114]

The result of the agitation by the dissenters and Separatists was manifest in the first edition of the *Acts and Laws of the State of Connecticut, 1784*. The Saybrook Platform was not mentioned. Dissenters were permitted to join societies in neighboring states provided the meeting place was not too far distant for the Connecticut members to attend worship. All religious bodies recognized by law were permitted to manage their temporal affairs in the same manner as the Congregational churches. The sole condition of these wide measures of toleration was that of depositing a certificate of membership, which

[113] *Conn. Rec.*, XIII, 1768-1772, p. 360.
[114] *Pub. Rec. of the State of Conn.*, I, p. 232.

was to be signed by an officer of the dissenter's church, with the clerk of the established society wherein he dwelt.[115]

Although the Saybrook Platform was dropped in the laws of 1784, nevertheless Congregationalism continued to be intimately associated with the government. Dissenters resented being "certificate men" and agitated in favor of still further reform. The Methodists, who began work in Connecticut in 1789, aided the other disaffected groups in clamoring against an established church and the certificate requirement. In May of 1791 the Assembly passed another certificate law providing that the certificate be signed by two civil officers, or by one only in case but one such officer lived in the town. The law provided that the certificate should be lodged with the clerk of the ecclesiastical society within which the dissenter dwelt.[116] The requirement previously had been the signature of an officer of the dissenter's church. The justices were nearly all Congregationalists. Thus prejudice or mistake of any sort on the part of such officer could cause him to deny the dissenter his exemption.

In October, 1791, an "Act securing equal Rights and Privileges to Christians of every Denomination in this State" required only a certificate signed by the dissenter and lodged in the office of the clerk of the society from which he dissented. All churches and congregations which were or should be formed and which maintained public worship were granted authority to exercise the same powers for maintaining their ministry and meetinghouses as the churches established by law.[117]

[115] *Acts and Laws of State of Conn.*, 1784, pp. 21-22.

[116] *Conn. Acts and Laws*, May, 1791, Hartford, printed by Elisha Babcock [official issue], p. 410. For other issues of the Laws of 1791 see Bates, A. C.: *A Bibliographical List of Editions of Conn. Laws. From the Earliest Issues to 1836.* Hartford, 1900. Acorn Club Publication, No. 3.

[117] *Ibid.*, 1791, pp. 416-417.

VI.

Legislation Bearing upon Religious Education in the Period 1712-1798.

CONNECTICUT had legal provisions covering nearly all school matters in 1712. Statutes had been passed which provided that: (1) No parent or guardian should "suffer so much barbarism in any of their families as to have a single child or apprentice unable to read the holy word of God, and the good laws of the colony," and every one was also "to bring them up in some lawful calling or employment"; (2) A tax of forty shillings should be levied annually on every thousand pounds on the lists of estates and paid proportionately to those towns which kept schools according to law; (3) A common school should be kept throughout the year in every town having over seventy families, and each town with less than seventy families should keep a school at least six months in the year; (4) A grammar school should be kept in each of the four chief county towns, to fit youth for college, and two of these must be free schools; (5) A collegiate school should be maintained toward which the General Court made an annual appropriation of 120 pounds; (6) The neighboring Indians should be instructed in the principles of the Christian religion.

The purpose of this chapter will be to trace the course of civil legislation as it bears upon religious education between the year 1712, when common school education was given over to parish control, and the year 1798, when the School Society was established as the unit of administration.

The law of 1712 in regard to schools required that all parishes which were already made, or hereafter should be made by the General Assembly, should be provided with stipulated funds

for maintaining schools. This marked the beginning of the change from the *town* to the *parish* system. Parishes multiplied in Connecticut as the towns increased in size and number. A majority of the householders were empowered in May, 1717, to levy taxes for the support of any such school and to appoint a collector.[1] This gave the unit smallest in area and in population, control over school matters, an extreme form of local control. The Court exercised general supervision and from time to time enacted legislation regarding school visitation and general modes of procedure. In October, 1714, it had empowered the selectmen in every town, or the major part of them, to act as visitors: "And they are hereby further required to give such directions as they shall find needful, to render such schools most serviceable to the increase of that knowledge, civility and religion which is designed in the erecting of them."[2]

The General Court continued its watchful care over the spiritual life of the people of Connecticut. The Assembly directed, in the October session of 1715 at New Haven, "That the selectmen make diligent enquiry of all householders within their respective towns, how they are stored with Bibles," and make report thereon, and make presentment for all breaches of the law entitled "An Act for the Education of Children."[3]

Indians, who throughout the first century of settlement had been a matter of concern to the English settlers, were again provided for in the May session of 1736. The General Assembly directed that a contribution be taken the next public thanksgiving in every ecclesiastical society and parish, to be used in the instruction of the Indians in the town of Lyme. The Court directed that the money that should be raised thereby should be improved for the civilizing and Christianizing of the Indian

[1] *Conn. Rec.*, VI, 1717-1725, p. 10.
[2] *Ibid.*, V, 1706-1716, p. 462.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 530-531.

natives in the colony, exclusive of the Mohegans, for whom provision had already been made.[4]

Direct support was sometimes rendered schools belonging to or controlled by the churches, as in the case of the missionary work with the Indians. The October General Court of 1742 recorded an enactment that "Upon advice from the Reverend Mr. Addams, that the Indian school house at Monheagen stands in great need of repairs: Resolved by this Assembly, that a sum not exceeding 12 pounds be drawn out of the public treasury and put into the hands of Joshua Huntington of Norwich, to be improved in repairing said house."[5] At a later date, May, 1755, the Assembly voted to give "25 or 30 pounds old tenor, to be granted and applied for providing dinners for their said children attending the school."[6] The same school was the recipient of a grant of forty pounds in 1760 to relieve the needs of one Robert Cleland of New London, a teacher of the Mohegan Indians who was in "straits and difficulties," having taught the children for eight years past at a low salary.[7] In the May Assembly of 1766 an additional grant of fifteen pounds was made for the same purposes.[8]

The General Court exercised care over the schools within the colony in order to accomplish its purpose in establishing them. The Court records in October, 1742, that inasmuch as "they have founded, erected, endowed and provided for the maintenance of a college at New Haven, and inferior schools of learning in every town and parish, for the education and instruction of the youth of the Colony, which have (by the blessing of God) been very serviceable to promote useful learning and Christian knowledge, and, more especially, to train up a learned and orthodox ministry for the supply of our churches,"

[4] *Conn. Rec.*, VIII, 1735-1743, pp. 37-38.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 509.
[6] *Ibid.*, X, 1751-1757, p. 384.
[7] *Ibid.*, XI, 1757-1762, p. 414.
[8] *Ibid.*, XII, 1762-1767, pp. 485-486.

it directed visitors to "inquire into the qualifications of the masters of them and the proficiency of the children to give such directions as they shall think needful."[9] The care of the schools was, however, in the hands of the parishes in all matters of practical administration. Repairs for schoolhouses and other school matters were voted upon in parish meeting.[10]

Connecticut revised her statutes again in 1750. This revision left out the important provision of the codes of 1650, 1673, and 1702[11] ordering parents and masters to catechize their children and servants weekly in the grounds and principles of religion.[12] The important religious provisions which remained were that all parents and masters "shall by themselves, or others, teach, and instruct, or cause to be taught and instructed, all such children as are under their care, and government, according to their ability, to read the English tongue well; and to know the laws against capital offenders: And if unable to do so much, then at least to learn some short orthodox catechism without book; so as to be able to answer to the questions that shall be propounded to them out of such catechism, by their parents, masters, or ministers, when they shall call them to an account of what they have learned of that kind."[13] A twenty-shilling penalty was placed upon parents and masters for neglect of the requirements of this act. Between 1702 and 1750 selectmen and grand jurymen had been liable to such a penalty. The easiest way to comply with the laws, namely, the teaching of the short orthodox catechism, probably appealed to parents who for the most part were poorly educated.

The Assembly again ordered a brief throughout the colony

[9] *Conn. Rec.*, VIII, 1735-1743, pp. 500-501.

[10] MS. records of the Town of East Hartford, 1741, p. 55, Conn. State Library.

[11] *Acts and Laws of His Majesties Colony of Connecticut in New England*, 1702, p. 16.

[12] *The General Laws and Liberties of Connecticut Colonie, Revised and Published by Order of the General Court*, 1772 (published in 1773), p. 13.

[13] *Acts and Laws*, 1750, p. 20.

in May of the year 1763 in behalf of the work of promoting Christian knowledge among the Indians, recommending "to all inhabitants charitably and liberally to their ability, to contribute to such pious and important purposes." Further provisions followed in regard to moneys and the stipulation "always provided such moneys be ultimately and wholly applied to the pious design of propagating the gospel among the heathen."[14] This action was taken on a memorial of the Rev. Mr. Eleazer Wheelock, who for some years past had instructed Indian youth, "with a view of their being by proper discipline and instruction fitted for missionaries, schoolmasters, interpreters, etc." The number having increased to more than twenty, the good man was in need of funds.

The Congregationalists, who were in control of the government of Connecticut throughout this period, were consequently in control of school matters. Even during colonial days there is some evidence of dissatisfaction with the sectarian education involved in having ecclesiastical control, a feature of Connecticut common school education which was not to be entirely done away with until the formation of the Constitution of 1818. The *Connecticut Gazette* of August 2, 1765, contains a leader upon the subject of "Education in General," in which the writer asserts: "If education is monopolized by any party, that have or may have an interest separate from that of their country, they may gradually mold the spirit of a people to their purposes, whatever they are. But when this great and good work is carried on under the eye of the *public*, by men who can have no separate interest, then may we expect to see every noble and manly sentiment nursed beneath their impartial influence. It must appear to be a work supremely worthy of the greatest names among us, to court the Muses to this uncultivated region, in which our lot is cast, and take especial care that the stream of education be diffused through the land and directed

[14] *Conn. Rec.*, XII, 1762-1767, pp. 151-152.

impartially to every denomination of men, clear and undisturbed by any party-view or party-tenet."[15]

In the revision of the statutes published in 1784, the General Court left the "Act for the Education and Governing of Children" the same as in the edition of 1702. The schools were to be inspected by the civil authority and the selectmen, and the latter as a special committee were to have the financial arrangements for the schools.

Toward the close of this period, important school legislation was enacted relative to school finances. Previously in 1733 the proceeds of the sale of portions of seven new townships in the western part of the state had been given over for the use of common schools.[16] Certain sums of money arising from excise upon goods were divided among the towns and the interest appropriated forever for the use of common schools in 1765. The following year towns and ecclesiastical societies were authorized to divide into school districts, and each district to draw its share of the school money raised by tax.[17] Barnard stated that the practical operation of this act, instead of embracing schools of different grades as was hoped, resulted in gradually narrowing down the school system to a single district school, which was taught by one teacher in the summer and a different teacher in the winter. Children of all ages and in all degrees of proficiency within the territorial limits of the district were trained in the one school.[18]

School districts were empowered in 1794 to tax themselves for the construction of schoolhouses with the sanction of two-thirds of the members present at a duly warned meeting.[19] The

[15] *Conn. Gazette,* Aug. 2, 1765, No. 475, p. 1.

[16] *Conn. Rec.,* VII, 1726-1735, pp. 457-458.

[17] *Ibid.,* XII, 1762-1767, pp. 497-498.

[18] Barnard, Henry: "History of the Legislation of Connecticut Respecting Common Schools, Down to 1838," *Ann. Rep. Supt. Com. Sch. Conn.,* 1853, p. 53.

[19] *Acts and Laws,* 1794, pp. 478-479.

next year, 1795, the Assembly passed a measure of far-reaching importance, when it enacted that the proceeds from the sale of the Western Lands in Ohio owned by Connecticut should be set apart as a perpetual fund and the interest appropriated for the use of the common schools, with a proviso that allowed each district to vote to use the income for the maintenance of the ministry if such a measure should receive a two-thirds vote. This was the beginning of the Connecticut Common School Fund.[20] The measure did not bring about free schools, but it brought immense financial assistance to the school districts.

Legislation was passed in 1795, providing that all inhabitants who had a right to vote in town meeting should meet in October, annually, and transact business touching upon the subject of schooling and the money apportioned to them. This legislation was the first to describe the unit of school control as a "school society." It created a school society separate from the parish or the ecclesiastical society, to control the schools.

Connecticut from a very early date had been divided into religious societies, practically coincident with the towns. Later, towns divided into smaller societies or parishes, to meet the need of outlying groups. The town authorities had been always more or less connected with the administration of schools; yet, as the education of children was considered a matter of religious as well as civil and parental duty, the societies were given power to levy taxes and make regulations for the maintenance of schools. Parishes in 1712 were made the unit of control of the public schools. At the close of the eighteenth century, when a diversity of religious sects had sprung up, the use of religious administrative units was no longer a satisfactory procedure in school supervision. School societies were then formed by the laws of 1795, completely independent of town limits and town authorities and dissociated from all ecclesiastical and municipal allegiance.

[20] *Acts and Laws*, 1795, p. 487.

In order to complete the organization of the school societies and to invest them with all necessary powers to facilitate their work, the Assembly in 1798 clothed them with all the powers and duties previously exercised by towns and ecclesiastical societies. Each society was entitled to receive interest from the School Fund, applying for and receipting for the same according to law, to appoint overseers or visitors of schools of suitable qualifications, not exceeding nine persons; and each society was authorized to tax itself for school purposes.[21] All county grammar schools, inasmuch as they constituted a part of the common school system down to 1798, were superseded in this legislation, one provision of which authorized, but did not oblige, each school society to establish a school of a higher order. By the school legislation of 1795, completed by the enactments of 1798, the "school society" supplanted the town and the parish as a unit of school control, a condition which persisted for over half a century, until 1856.

[21] *Acts and Laws*, 1798, pp. 481-482.

VII.

The Status of Religious Education in the Period 1712-1798.

A. IN THE HOME

METHODS and materials of religious education in the home cannot be said to have changed materially in the eighteenth century from what they were in the seventeenth. The change lay rather in the diminished emphasis placed upon religion in the home. Religion had declined noticeably when the first settlers were passing away. The population began to be mixed. The settlers were no longer of one religious persuasion. Enthusiasms of the strenuous early days had somewhat dimmed by long contact with the wilderness and the crude social and educational condition of a frontier community. Losses at sea, earthquakes, fires, and blighting of crops had dampened the ardor of many in the latter part of the first century of Connecticut's settlement. To these discouraging events may be added the Indian wars as a part of the general situation which accounts for a diminution in religious practices.

The decline of religion in the homes of the people was noticed by the Assembly and in May, 1714, they took into their serious consideration "the many evident tokens that the glory is departed from us"; they prayed the Governor to recommend to the reverend elders at the next General Association that they cause the state of religion in each particular association to be inquired into in every parish, "particularly how and whether catechizing be duly attended, and whether there be a suitable number of bibles in the various families in their respective parishes; and also, if there be found in any of our parishes any

persons that neglect attendance upon the public worship on Lord's days."[1]

Subsequent to this legislation the Assembly ordered in October, 1715, that the selectmen make "diligent enquiry of all householders, within their respective towns, how they are stored with bibles; and upon such enquiry, [if] any such householders be found without one bible at least, that the said selectmen shall warn the said householder forthwith to procure one bible at least; for the use and benefit of the said family; and if the same be neglected, then the said selectmen shall make return thereof to the next authority; and that all those families who are numerous, and whose circumstances will allow thereof shall be supplied with a considerable number of bibles, according to the number of persons in such families; and that they see that all such families be furnished with a suitable number of orthodox catechisms, and other good books of practical godliness, viz., such especially as treat on, encourage and duly prepare for the right attendance on that great duty of the Lord's Supper."[2]

Inasmuch as Indian children found their way into the homes of the English settlers in more or less permanent capacities, the Assembly felt obliged, in May of 1727, to legislate in regard to their home religious instruction. Consequently it enacted: "Whereas this Assembly is informed that many of the Indians in this government put out their children to the English, to be brought up by them, and yet sundry of the persons having such children do neglect to learn them to read and to instruct them in the principles of the Christian faith, so that such children are still in danger to continue heathens; which to prevent," etc.; it was further enacted "to instruct them in the principles of the Christian faith by catechizing of them, together with proper methods." Various enforcing clauses were added.[3]

[1] *Conn. Rec.*, V, 1706-1716, p. 436.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 530.
[3] *Ibid.*, VII, 1726-1735, pp. 102-103.

The slave children received nearly the same religious instruction as the master's own children. The question was proposed in the General Association of 1738, whether infant slave children of Christian masters should be baptized in the masters' right, in case the masters promise to bring them up in the ways of religion, and the question was answered in the affirmative.[4]

Throughout the whole of colonial times civil authorities were solicitous about the catechizing of children and their instruction in reading. This interest was twofold, that children as prospective citizens might know the colony laws and that they might the better become acquainted with the principles and grounds of the Christian religion. Certain provisions regarding the education of children by parents and masters found in the Code of 1650 persisted beyond colonial days into the period when Connecticut became a state. In 1796, the provision was retained which provided that "all parents and masters of children, shall, by themselves or others, teach and instruct, or cause to be taught and instructed, all such children as are under their care and government, according to their ability, to read the English tongue well and to know the laws against capital offenses; And if unable to do so much, then at least to learn some short orthodox catechism without book, so as to be able to answer to the questions that shall be propounded to them out of such catechism, by their parents, masters or ministers when they shall call them to an account of what they have learned of that kind."[5] The provision regarding a catechism finally disappeared in the laws of 1821.

Books were scarce in most Connecticut homes throughout this period. Beecher, in describing the religious training he received at home about the year 1790, remarked: "The only books we had at Uncle Benton's were the great Bible and Psalm-book. Father came over once and made me a present

[4] *Rec. Gen. Asso.*, 1738-1799 (ed. 1888), p. 6.
[5] *Conn. Laws*, 1796, p. 60.

of Robinson Crusoe and Goody Two-shoes." In answer to the query as to what sort of religious training he had, he made answer: "We always had family prayers, and I heard the Bible read every morning. Aunt Benton became pious when I was about ten. I remember Parson Bray's coming to see her, and talking about 'inability.' I never heard Parson Bray preach a sermon I understood."[6] Beecher stated he had a "good orthodox education; was serious minded, conscientious, and had a settled fear of God and a terror of the day of judgment."[7]

Beecher was not alone in having a "settled fear" descend upon his soul as a result of the rigid and discouraging religious teaching of these years. Passages from the diary of the Rev. David Brainerd, born in 1718, show the influence of gloomy doctrines upon the mind of sensitive youth. Brainerd writes: "I was from my youth somewhat sober, and inclined to melancholy; but do not remember any thing of conviction of sin, worthy of remark, till I was, I believe, about seven or eight years of age. Then I became concerned for my soul, and terrified at the thoughts of death; and was driven to the performance of religious duties: but it appeared a melancholy business, that destroyed my eagerness for play."[8] Concerning his state of mind at the age of fifteen, he remarked: "I was not much addicted to the company and amusements of the young; but this I know, that when I did go into such company, I never returned with so good a conscience as when I went. It always added new guilt, made me afraid to come to the throne of grace; and spoiled those good frames with which I was wont sometimes to please myself."[9] He stated that when he was nineteen he became very strict and watchful of his thoughts, words, and

[6] Beecher, Charles: *Autobiography and Correspondence of Lyman Beecher,* I, p. 33.

[7] *Ibid.,* p. 34.

[8] Edwards, Rev. Jonathan, and Dwight, Sereno Edwards: *Memoirs of the Rev. David Brainerd,* New Haven, 1822 ed., p. 36.

[9] *Ibid.,* p. 37.

actions, and wrote that he "concluded I must be sober indeed, because I designed to devote myself to the ministry."[10] The following year he was so deeply concerned about religion that he agreed to meet with some other young people privately on Sabbath evenings for religious exercises. Another year found him daily longing for a greater conviction of sin. Of this period he recorded: "When the discoveries of my vile, wicked heart, were made to me, the sight was so dreadful, and showed me so plainly my exposedness to damnation, that I could not endure it."[11] He abandoned all means of grace as utterly useless, saying he could contrive nothing for his own relief. Brainerd favors us by stating specifically the theological positions of the day which kept his soul in turmoil. Among these were the strictness of the divine law: "For," he wrote, " I found it was impossible for me, after my utmost pains, to answer its demands." A second was that faith alone was the condition of salvation. He stated that "God would not come down to lower terms: and that he would not promise life and salvation upon my sincere and hearty prayers and endeavors. That word, Mark XVI. 16. 'He that believeth not, shall be damned,' cut off all hope there. I found that faith was the sovereign gift of God: that I could not get it as of myself; and could not oblige God to bestow it upon me by any of my performances." A third teaching which tormented Brainerd was that he could not of himself find out what faith was; or what it was to believe and come to Christ. "For," as he remarked, "I was not yet effectually and experimentally taught, that there could be no way prescribed, whereby a *natural* man could, of his own strength, obtain that which is *supernatural*, and which the highest angel cannot give." The fourth teaching which caused unrest to the devout missionary to the Indians was the doctrine of the sovereignty of God. This, indeed, became the stumblingblock for many an earnest soul.

[10] Edwards, Rev. Jonathan, and Dwight, Sereno Edwards: *Memoirs of the Rev. David Brainerd*, 1822 ed., p. 37.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 39.

Why should one be told to repent if his times were so completely in God's hands that he could do nothing save he were moved by God to do it? Brainerd lamented: "I could not bear, that it should be wholly at God's pleasure, to save or damn me, just as he would. That passage, Rom. IX. 11-23 was a constant vexation to me, especially verse 21."[12] This verse reads: "Hath not the potter power over the clay, of the same lump to make one vessel unto honour, and another unto dishonour?"

It was some time about his twentieth year that Brainerd wrote the following fragment, found among his manuscripts, and entitled:

Some gloomy and desponding thoughts of a soul under conviction of sin, and concern for its eternal salvation.

1. I believe my case is singular, that none ever had so many strange and different thoughts and feelings as I.

2. I have been concerned much longer than many others I have known, or concerning whom I have read, who have been savingly converted, and yet I am left.

3. I have withstood the power of convictions a long time; and therefore I fear I shall be finally left of God.

4. I never shall be converted without stronger convictions and greater terrors of conscience.

5. I do not aim at the glory of God in anything I do, and therefore I cannot hope for mercy.

6. I do not see the evil nature of sin, nor the sin of my nature; and therefore I am discouraged.

7. The more I strive, the more blind and hard my heart is, and the worse I grow continually.

8. I fear that God never showed mercy to one so vile as I.

9. I fear that I am not elected, and therefore must perish.

10. I fear that the day of grace is past with me.

11. I fear that I have committed the unpardonable sin.

12. I am an old sinner; and if God had designed mercy for me, he would have called me home to himself before now.[13]

[12] Edwards, Rev. Jonathan, and Dwight, Sereno Edwards: *Memoirs of the Rev. David Brainerd,* 1822 ed., pp. 41-43.

[13] *Ibid.,* pp. 44-45.

The neceſſity of Judgment, and Righteouſneſs in a Land.

A Sermon,

Preached at the General Court of Election, at Hartford in the Colony of CONNECTICUT, on May 11th. 1710.

By Eliphalet Adams,
Paſtor of the Church in *New London.*

Zeph 2. 3. *Seek Righteouſneſs, ſeek Meekneſs, it may be ye ſhall be hid in the day of the Lords Anger*

NEW-LONDON in *N. E.*
Printed by *Thomas Short*, Printer to the Governour and Council. 1710.

Title-page from Eliphalet Adams's *Election Sermon*. The claim of this little volume to have been the first book printed in Connecticut seems well established. It is very rare.

The state of mind which the religious teachings of the period induced in Brainerd was probably fairly representative of the attitude of numbers of the more pious young people of that day.

The Sabbath was strictly observed in the homes of the godly. Vegetables were cleaned on Saturday, and beds were left until after sundown on Sunday. Nothing which partook of gaiety or noisy sport was allowed. The day was given over to sober thought, Bible reading, and church attendance.

Morals and religion suffered during and after the troubled times connected with the Revolutionary War. Instruction in the home had evidently declined by 1774, for the General Association of that year urged upon its ministers to be "frequent and pressing in their addresses to parents and heads of families, especially such as are under the bonds of the covenant," to induce them to train up their children in the nurture of the Lord, "the neglect of which we apprehend is one cause of much disorder both in church and state."[14] The General Association, in its meeting of 1776, earnestly entreated parents to train their children in the principles of virtue and religion and to counsel, warn, and restrain them when needful.[15]

In the year 1776 the General Association, in an address to the pastors and churches, had stated, "The neglect of God's working in families is a very growing and fashionable sin."[16] The minutes of the General Association of 1777 record: "This Association then, taking into their serious consideration the great and deplorable neglect of the duties of religion in general, and that important one of family religion in particular, even in this day of sore rebuke, in which an holy God is clearly testifying his high displeasure against us," and recommend to people and ministers to exert themselves in regard to this duty.[17]

[14] *Rec. Gen. Asso.*, 1738-1799 (ed. 1888), p. 82.
[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 94-95.
[16] *Ibid.*, p. 91.
[17] *Ibid.*, pp. 97-98.

The General Association in 1778, noting the growing immoralities and the consequent danger to the youth and children, recommended that the respective associations consult as to measures of prevention and for the promotion of "seriousness and learning among children in a parental way and also in our private schools."[18] The decay of religion and morals was lamented in the General Association of 1779.[19] In 1780, after deploring the irreligion of the times, the General Association urged each association or its ministers to assemble and implore mercy for the people "in this day of abounding iniquity."[20]

The years from 1690 to about 1785 cannot be viewed otherwise than as a period of Puritan decline. The impetus of the "Great Awakening" was a check upon influences inimical to religion, but by its very nature a revival could not replace the unity of faith and practice which existed in the small groups of the early days before the growth of dissent and the incoming of groups of different doctrinal belief. In this decline religion in the home had suffered as well as worship in churches, a condition not to be fully remedied in this period.

B. IN THE CHURCH

The religious life of the church had suffered through the decline of piety in the last half of the seventeenth century. Extending the qualifications for membership had not served to strengthen the life of the church, and it entered upon the eighteenth century with little of the zeal and with few leaders of the quality of the first generation of Connecticut ministers. The land hunger which possessed the more adventurous and caused them to migrate to the constantly changing line of the frontier, naturally resulted in many new settlements. The constant presence of a frontier and the persistence of frontier con-

[18] *Rec. Gen. Asso.*, 1738-1799 (ed. 1888), p. 100.
[19] *Ibid.*, pp. 102-103.
[20] *Ibid.*, pp. 104-105.

ditions bred a distaste for discipline and an impatience with restraint which was inimical alike to religion and civil authority. Numbers of these smaller places could ill afford a trained minister, and consequently many small towns had no minister at all. In addition, many communities remote from the meetinghouses in the "center" of the towns were wont to petition the General Court for preaching during the winter months at some more accessible place. A portion of the inhabitants of Farmington township sent in such a petition in October, 1742.[21] This all tended to draw many people from the larger and better served congregations. In addition to the foregoing forces at work undermining the church there was an intellectual ferment in the minds of many Connecticut householders, due to the writings of the new liberal school in England. The works of Locke and Sidney and of others of like mind found their way to the colonies, where they had no little influence. There came a change over the whole temper of the times. Religion slowly gave way to the interests of commerce and of politics.

The church in the larger towns was well manned during this whole period, even though the first glory had somewhat departed from her. Trumbull estimated that there were forty-three ordained ministers in the colony in 1713, one to every four hundred people, or approximately one to every eighty families.[22] Ezra Stiles, in giving material from a Dr. McSparrans' *Letters,* printed in Dublin in 1752, credits Connecticut with having 8 Episcopal clergymen in 1752 and 16 churches. He estimated that there were 170 Congregational churches and 163 pastors in Connecticut in 1760.[23] The number of Episcopal churches in

[21] Smith, Eddy N., et al.: *Bristol,* p. 28. For the effect of the frontier on Colonial life see Adams, J. T.: *Revolutionary New England, 1601-1776,* chap. I. See also Santayana, George: *Winds of Doctrine,* p. 191.

[22] Trumbull, Benjamin: *Hist. of Conn.,* 1818, I, p. 491. For a catalog of Congregational ministers of Connecticut from 1630 to 1713, inclusive, see *ibid.,* pp. 492-494. For a catalog from 1713 to 1764, see *ibid.,* II, p. 527.

[23] Stiles, Ezra: *Literary Diary,* III, 1782-1795, p. 147.

1773 he gave as 31, with 15 clergy, and the Congregational churches as 188.[24] In 1780 Stiles reported from a pocket almanac he had examined that there were in Connecticut 158 Congregational ministers, of whom 19 were from Harvard, 8 from Nassau, and 131 from Yale.[25] In 1792 he estimated the clergy of all denominations in Connecticut to be as follows: Regular Congregationalists 168, Separates 9, Baptists 21, Episcopalians 16, Sandemanians 1, a total of 215.[26]

The preaching of these early times had a decided effect upon the minds of the parishioners. Literature of this period gives evidence that there was a good deal of meditation upon the authority and sovereignty of God. Death was a frequent subject for sermons and the possibility of eternal damnation gave cause for considerable trepidation of soul in many a Connecticut family. It was a day of frankness and of introspection upon religious matters. Original sin, regeneration, conversion, effectual calling, and the atonement were discussed in conversation and in letters as well as in printed sermons and religious treatises. The implications of church membership and of Christian discipleship were pursued with legalistic strictness. Cases of church discipline for non-attendance on the Lord's Supper and for Sabbath-breaking, as well as for more serious misdemeanors, were frequent.[27] Spiritual obligation applied to everything and was perpetual. There was a tendency to constantly analyze one's motives. A Connecticut woman recorded an incident on an ocean voyage to Virginia, when some mackerel were caught on the Sabbath. "We have food on board," she wrote, "but I am thinking whether it is sinful in such a case, while sailing over them to put out our line and take them, although on the

[24] Stiles, Ezra: *Literary Diary,* I, 1769-1776, pp. 359-360.

[25] *Ibid.,* II, 1776-1781, p. 416.

[26] *Ibid.,* III, 1782-1795, p. 463. A short account of Robert Sandeman is given in Bailey, J. M.: *Hist. of Danbury,* pp. 34-35.

[27] Lawson, Rev. Harvey M.: *The History of Union,* p. 69.

sabbath. If it is sinful I am accessory for I have not reproved them."[28] At another time she wrote in her journal: "I have long entertained the despicable idea of the depravity of human nature." Susan Cowles, when yet a young girl, set down in her journal on October 18, 1802: "One year more is past and gone never to be forgotten. Seventeen years have passed over this guilty head."[29]

Although there was considerable non-attendance on divine service, against which both clergy and Court protested, the proportion of those who attended church regularly was undoubtedly far greater than at the present day.[30] The church service gave opportunity for social intercourse; it provided in its discourses and biblical reading one of the chief sources of literary instruction, and the church was the house of God. The custom of having "Articles of Agreement" drawn up by each church at its formation was the usual Congregational usage and documents thus drawn up furnished pastors with excellent standards to which they could summon backsliding members.[31]

Little attention was paid to singing in the house of God. The music was entirely by ear, and each one sang according to his own tune. In 1727 Rev. Nathaniel Chauncey of Durham prepared a pamphlet entitled, "Regular singing defended and proved to be the only true way of singing the songs of the Lord."

[28] MS. Diary of Mrs. Giles L'Hommedieu, p. 28, in Conn. Hist. Soc. Lib., Hartford.

[29] MS. Diary of Susan Cowles, in a volume entitled *Old Letters, Diaries, etc., Illustrating the History of Farmington, Connecticut,* copied by Julian Gay, 1893, Conn. Hist. Soc. Lib., Hartford.

[30] Regularity at church service is attested by the diaries of the period. See MS. copy of Elizabeth Foote's Journal for 1775, MS. copy of Abigail Foote's Journal for June, 1775, both in the Conn. Hist. Soc. Lib., Hartford, and *Diary of Joshua Hempstead,* 1711-1758.

[31] For examples of Articles of Agreement, see Hibbard, A. G.: *Hist. of the Town of Goshen,* p. 76, and the *Report of the Celebration of the One Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Primitive Organizations of the Congregational Church and Society in Franklin, Connecticut,* October 14, 1868, pp. 109-111.

This work was approved by the General Association of Congregational Churches in Connecticut at Hartford on May 12, 1727, and published the following year.[32] The question Chauncey stated was "Whether in singing the songs of the Lord, we ought to proceed by a certain rule, or to do it in any loose, irregular way, that this or that people have accustomed themselves unto?" He remarked, "The difference among towns in singing is very great, scarcely any two towns sing perfectly alike; and yet each town or person asserts they are in the right, and their neighbor is in the wrong." He enumerated the objections to regular singing as: "Objection 1. This practice leads to the Church of England and will bring in organs. Objection 2. The very original of this way was from the Papists. Objection 3. The way of singing we use in this country is more solemn, and therefore much more suitable and becoming. Objection 4. It looks very unlikely to be the right way because young people fall into it. Objection 5. It is the cause of sore and bitter contentions." Chauncey set out to answer these objections, and in a measure succeeded.

Hymnology seems to have reached its low point of decline about 1700. In the early decades of the eighteenth century several divines turned their attention to this part of church worship with some result, but the untrained voices, singing with only a few notes from a pitch pipe to guide them, often brought smiles to the faces of the sober worshipers. Gradually singing schools became popular, especially with the young people, which did much to improve the singing in Connecticut choirs.

The controversy over "singing by rule" became acute in many Massachusetts congregations, where parties formed in utmost hostility to each other. Connecticut had like troubles in many of her churches. The older people generally protested

[32] Fowler, William Chauncey: *Hist. of Durham*, pp. 99-100.

against the new way. The cautious citizens of Glastonbury decided the matter quietly in February of 1733, by passing a town vote directing the congregation of the First Society to sing one half the day by "note" and the other half by "rule."[33] The matter was decided in a similar way at Windsor in 1736.[34] The whole subject of hymnology is treated more at length in Chapter VIII.

Occasional revivals brought renewed interest in religious matters. A revival occurred at Windham in 1721, where it was reported that "of late there had been a greater stirring than ordinary among the dry bones."[35] There were revivals in 1736, 1737, and 1739, in various Connecticut towns. The "Great Awakening," the most widespread revival movement of the century, precipitated by the coming of George Whitefield, occurred in 1740 and 1741. He was followed by Gilbert Tennant of New Jersey, a Calvinistic preacher of fiery eloquence. Among the preachers of Connecticut who aided the revivals of this period were Jedediah Mills, Benjamin Pomeroy, Eleazer Wheelock, and Joseph Bellamy. They preached the doctrine of original sin, of regeneration by the supernatural influence of the Holy Spirit, and of the necessity of the same if a person was to bear good fruit in the Christian life, or to gain admission to the Kingdom of God. Effectual calling, justification by faith on account of the imputed righteousness of Christ, repentance, and faith in God were prominent characteristics of their teachings. Twelve ministers, in June, 1743, attested to the power of revivals in the state by writing to a group which was to meet in

[33] Chapin, Alonzo B., D.D.: *Glastonbury for Two Hundred Years*, p. 77. For an extensive treatment, see Hood's *History of Music in New England*, Boston, 1846.

[34] Stiles, Henry R.: *The Hist. of Ancient Windsor*, p. 359.

[35] Prince, Thomas: *Christian History*, June 25, 1743, pp. 129-134. A good account of this revival, as well as other revivals of the period, is given in this weekly periodical, which contained religious news from England, Scotland, and America.

Boston. They affirmed that "there has of late, for about three years past, been a great and wonderful revival of religion in the several places to which we minister, and in divers others which we were acquainted with; wherein, through the mighty power and grace of God, great numbers of persons of all sorts, but especially young people, have been greatly awakened."[36]

Many excesses accompanied the "Great Awakening" of 1740, and the revivals which preceded and followed it. The preaching of Whitefield in 1740 and the awakening at Northampton under Jonathan Edwards were followed by many local revivals, under the leadership of men who were sometimes crude and illiterate. Physical manifestations were considered by many as an evidence of the presence of the divine spirit. Joshua Hempstead recorded in his diary for June 5, 1741, that "there hath been a wonderful work of God made evident in the powerful convictions [and] conversions of divers persons in an extraordinary manner which began at the preaching of Mr. Mills of Derby the last Sunday in the afternoon and several lectures by him and Mr. Eells of Stonington, that this week hath been kept as a Sabbath most of it, and with the greatest success imaginable and beyond what is rational to conceive of it by the account that I have of it by all hands. Never such a time here and scarce anywhere else."[37] He wrote in his diary for February 22, 1741: "Mr. Curtis and his companion were preaching and praying together at Peter Harris' Saturday with great crying out of many."[38] Four years later he stated that George Whitefield had again visited them and spoken to a great assembly

[36] Prince, Thomas: *Christian History,* Aug. 20, 1743, pp. 195-197. This testimony was signed by Joseph Meacham, of Coventry; Benjamin Lord, of Norwich; Hezekiah Lord, of Preston; Solomon Williams, of Lebanon; Daniel Kirtland, of Norwich; Jabez Wight, of Norwich; John Owen, of Groton; Samuel Moseley, of Windham; Jonathan Parsons, of Lyme; Eleazer Wheelock, of Lebanon; Benjamin Pomroy, of Hebron; and David Jewet, of New London.

[37] *Diary of Joshua Hempstead,* New London Hist. Soc., ed. 1901, p. 377.

[38] *Ibid.,* p. 389.

in the open air, many coming from neighboring towns to hear him.[39]

Jonathan Edwards, in his *Narrative of Surprising Conversions,* reveals serious-mindedness and fervor on the part of the community coupled with a good deal of excitement. In making allowance for revival excesses he remarked: "If we viewed things in a just light, so great an event as the conversion of such a multitude of sinners, would draw and engage our attention, much more than all the imprudencies and irregularities that have been. The imprudencies and errors of poor feeble worms do not hinder or prevent great rejoicing, in the presence of the angels of God, over so many sinners that have repented."[40] The extravagances of revivals called forth an enactment of the General Assembly of 1742 against illiterate and unlicensed itinerant preachers who were making it a practice to exhort the people. Other safeguards in favor of the "Old Lights," as the established Congregational churches were known in contrast with the "New Lights or Separates," were contained in the law.[41] Although the Congregationalists were vastly in the majority in 1740, the other sects were powerful enough to cause alarm. Ezra Stiles estimated in 1790 that there were in 1740 in Connecticut 120 Congregational ministers, of whom twenty were New Lights. The most notable treatise opposing the "Great Awakening" was that of Charles Chauncey, pastor of Boston First Church, entitled, *Seasonable Thoughts on the state of religion in New England,* which was by way of answer to Jonathan Edwards' *Narrative of Surprising Conversions.*[42]

In spite of the revivals of the period the churches were not

[39] *Diary of Joshua Hempstead,* New London Hist. Soc., ed. 1901, p. 447.

[40] Edwards, Jonathan: *Works* (ed. 1881), III, p. 332.

[41] *Conn. Rec.,* VIII, 1735-1743, pp. 454-456.

[42] See also Prince, Thomas: *Christian History,* for the year 1743, pp. 197, 215, 264, 267; also Jonathan Edwards' *Narrative,* in 1881 edition of his *Works,* pp. 344-360, for contemporary comment on the revivals and disorders which followed.

filled with worshipers. War, natural disasters, and the growth of dissent and of toleration operated to loosen the hold of the established church, which left many with no church allegiance. At a meeting of the General Association of the Colony of Connecticut, held at Windham on June 15, 1756, the following minute was recorded: "In consideration of the threatening aspect of divine Providence at this day, particularly the most frequent and amazing earthquakes and their terrible effects in various parts of the earth; and especially the strange, unusual and distressing war that is prevailing in this land, as also the consideration of the awful growth and spread of vice and immorality, this association thinks it advisable that some time should be spent in humble and earnest prayer and supplication to God to avert the tokens of his displeasure."[43] In 1776 church attendance had so notably fallen away that the matter was deplored in an address by the General Association to the pastors of the churches.[44] Later, in 1788, the association directed a committee composed of Timothy Dwight and Benoni Upson to "draught an exhortation" on this subject to be read in the various churches of the state.[45]

One of the characteristics of the ecclesiastical history of Connecticut in the eighteenth century is the breaking up of the religious homogeneity of the first seventy years of settlement. Nearly all the people were Congregationalists during that early period. With the new century there came the infusion of other elements, including Episcopalians, Baptists, Quakers, and Separatists from the Congregational body after the "Great Awakening" in 1740. An Episcopalian, Mr. Pigot, writing from Connecticut in 1722 to the secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in London, recorded the conversion of President Cutler of Yale, a tutor of the same institution and

[43] *Conn. Gazette,* July 3, 1756, No. 65, pp. 3-4.
[44] *Rec. of Gen. Asso.,* 1738-1799 (ed. 1888), p. 90.
[45] *Ibid.,* p. 127.

four others, to Episcopacy in that year. He recites, "This great outset toward a reformation in this deluded country has brought in vast numbers to favor the Church of England."[46] Thomas Prince records of Fairfield, about 1736, that "There is beside an Episcopal church, erected within the first parish of Fairfield, whose minister is Mr. Henry Caner. He is supported by the Society for Propagating the Gospel. There is also another within the bounds of Reading at which Mr. John Beach, the episcopal missionary at Newton preacheth the third part of his time."[47] In writing of New London in the same period, Prince stated: "There are in the town people of divers persuasions and opinions, as churchmen, who came from abroad and were educated in that way. There are also antipedobaptists of two sorts: the one sort keep the first, and the other the last day of the week as their Sabbath, but neither with any great strictness. There are also a few of a new sect in religion: as to water baptism and the Lord's supper they join with the antipedobaptists, but as to their garb, language, paying of civil respects, use of military weapons, and some other points, they fall in with the quakers; besides they have tenets peculiar to themselves, needless to relate. Their founder and teacher was John Rogers."[48]

The methods and materials of the church were much the same in this period as in the period before 1712. Church services with their theological sermons and long services gave children much instruction in addition to the catechetical training they received at home.[49] Weekly lectures were regularly carried on in the churches, generally on Thursday.[50] The Epis-

[46] Hawkes and Perry: *Doc. Hist of Prot. Epis. Church in the U. S.*, I, 1863, pp. 58-59.

[47] Extracts of letters to Thomas Prince, *circa* 1736, *Conn. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, III, p. 311.

[48] *Ibid.*, p. 285.

[49] Beach, J. P.: *Hist. of Cheshire*, p. 118.

[50] Stiles, Ezra: *Literary Diary*, entry of April 28, 1769, I, p. 9.

copalians made more of catechetical instruction and of the teaching function of the church than other denominations.

The Lord's Supper was administered at intervals of one, two, or three months. In the winter the elements would sometimes be frozen. Only members in full standing were allowed at the Lord's table. The service being over, the members would come forward in order of precedence and offer contributions to defray expenses. These gifts were varied; some would bring money, others would give their due bills, or yarn, clothing, bags of grain, eggs, or other provisions.[51]

A curious practice was carried on in the Great Swamp Society, where, soon after the church was formed, it was decided that the members should hold a conference session on the first day of every month in the year, "to begin about 2 hours before sunset at the meeting house, and said meeting shall begin with prayer by one of the brethren, who shall propose a text of Scripture, and a question or questions, on the same, in writing, then to be discoursed on, by his next brother, by House row [meaning according to his seating in the meetinghouse], by word or by writing, if said brother shall see cause. And the pastor of the church, and the said brother from whom an answer is expected at any meeting, shall at the same meeting lay down the text of Scripture, and the question or the questions thereon arising to be discoursed on at the next meeting, etc."[52]

The practice of dignifying pews was maintained throughout the eighteenth century. On January 4, 1714, Colchester "Dignified the first pew next the pulpit to be first in dignity, the next behind it to be second in dignity and the foremost of the long seats to be third in dignity; the fourth in dignity is the second long seat and the third pew, these two to be equal in estima-

[51] Beach, J. P.: *Hist. of Cheshire,* p. 119.

[52] North, Catherine M.: *Hist. of Berlin,* pp. 150-151 (same referred to in Camp, D. N.: *Hist. of New Britain,* p. 94).

tion."[53] The general rule of precedence appears to be the clergy first, magistrates second, and others according to official or military position and the amount of taxable property which appeared upon the town list. Undoubtedly these seatings were accompanied with a good deal of heartburning and the seaters had no enviable task![54] Committees representing the church not infrequently made inquiries of a most personal nature, which doubtless had an effect in planning out the schedule of sittings.[55]

The behavior of Connecticut boys in meeting does not appear to have improved a great deal from what it was in the early decades, for we find the Berlin society on December 7, 1724, voting "that Thos. Hart and Saml. Bronson, Jr. should oversee the youth on the Sabbaths in the time of exercise, to restrain them from unreverent behaviour therein, for the year ensuing."[56]

The Westminster and other catechisms, such as the ones published by Watts in 1730 and Samuel Phillips' *Orthodox Christian, or a Child well instructed in the Principles of the Christian Religion,* published in 1738, were quite generally employed. Watts' catechisms represented one of the first attempts after Baxter's efforts to adopt materials to the various ages of the pupils. In 1748 the General Association, being aware of the great importance of instructing children in their most early years in the principles of Christianity, and observing that "although the Assembly's Shorter Catechism be a most excellent summary of the Christian religion and what we would by no means have laid aside or disused, yet think that some plain and easy introduction to it to be learned by children before they

[53] Taintor, Chas. M.: *Extracts from the Records of Colchester,* p. 14; White, Alain C.: *Hist. of the Town of Litchfield,* p. 31.

[54] Fowler, William Chauncey: *Hist. of Durham,* p. 93. See also, Camp, David N.: *Hist. of New Britain,* p. 97.

[55] Sharpe, W. C.: *Bethany, Sketches and Records,* p. 20.

[56] North, Catherine M.: *Hist. of Berlin,* p. 152.

are of suitable age to enter upon that Catechism might be of great advantage, would earnestly recommend to our people the use of the Rev. Dr. Watts' excellent sets of Catechisms and think that a new edition of them should be of great service." They further remarked, "if the particular associations would agree to encourage and forward one another in introducing this method of catechizing in their several congregations we think it might be an happy means of promoting religion among us."[57]

Slaves had increased and their instruction in matters of religion was an affair of importance. On May 2, 1774, Ezra Stiles reported that he had catechized 19 boys, 23 girls, and 8 negroes.[58] Stiles estimated in 1780 that there were 6,000 blacks in Connecticut.[59] He records in 1783 that he preached an evangelistic lecture to the negroes in June, August, September, and he made a similar entry in January, 1784.[60] In August, 1788, he again mentioned that he preached to a meeting of negroes in July. A similar event was recorded for August, November, and December of the same year.[61]

The interest of the General Association did not diminish in the religious instruction of children. In 1794 the association recommended that the ministers assemble their young people for the purpose of instruction in the "evidences, doctrines and duties of Christianity."[62]

Religious life in the period just reviewed was disturbed by many new and unusual circumstances and currents of thought unknown to the first generation and a half of Connecticut settlement. The first settlers, fired with high motives and coming from comparatively cultivated communities, were able to resist the deteriorating influences of the wilderness. The

[57] *Rec. Gen. Asso. Col. of Conn.*, 1738-1799 (ed. 1888), p. 23.
[58] Stiles, Ezra: *Literary Diary*, I, 1769-1776, p. 439.
[59] *Ibid.*, II, 1776-1781, p. 410.
[60] *Ibid.*, III, 1782-1795, pp. 78, 82, 91, 102, 104.
[61] *Ibid.*, III, 1782-1795, pp. 325, 327, 332, 335.
[62] *Rec. Gen. Asso. Col. of Conn.*, 1738-1799 (ed. 1888), p. 156.

scanty social privileges and the poor educational opportunities of the new home were to make a stronger impression upon their grandchildren, who did not possess the same degree of moral earnestness as their forbears. Consequently the ways of the settlers took on a rudeness characteristic of the frontier.

In addition to deterioration among descendants of original settlers, the children of their servants and of adventurers who came over in search of wealth became a demoralizing factor in colonial life. These fortune seekers were never entirely sympathetic with the religious motives of the founders, and inasmuch as they were without the moral inhibitions of a devoutly religious group they suffered more than the original planters and their children from the influences of the moral and religious decline.

The pulpit, too, had steadily weakened in its intellectual and spiritual quality. The early New England movement had university trained leaders. Cotton Mather numbers seventy-seven ministers of the first generation who began their ministry in the Old World, most of whom were university men. The men who replaced this first group of ministers were not so fortunate in their training.

The decrease in learning among the laity was even more marked than among the clergy. Handwriting, spelling, and grammar in public records of all parts of this period which have been preserved, compare unfavorably with that which went before.

Several factors contributed to distract attention from learning and piety. A strong desire for more land led to a thinning out of the population and to the settlement of small communities unable to support schools and churches of any great strength. The last half of the seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth was a period of town planting in which frontier conditions continually persisted. Political and military

affairs engrossed the attention of the people as the colony grew into prominence. The French and Indian Wars left an aftermath of debt and low morals consequent upon war. Religious differences added to the general unrest. Disturbances created by Quakers and Baptists and the harsh treatment received by them weakened the faith of many in their political and religious leaders.

The "half-way" view of church membership, although conscientiously devised, worked inevitable mischief upon the religious life of the day. It offered easy access to church membership to many who would have been kept out by the rigid requirements of the early churches. It cheapened the conception of church membership; and, what was most a divergence from the practice of the early days, it made church membership the observation of a form and trust in a ceremony. Thus we have a people who have separated from an older church body as a protest against formalism, three generations later becoming formalistic with reference to a large part of their church membership.

The formalizing tendency in the church was caused not only by the "half-way" arrangement, but also by a gradual change in the teaching of the church regarding the mode of entry into the Christian life. There was no distinct break from the Calvinistic notion of the helpless passivity of man and the sovereignty of God in the matter of conversion; but as the earnestness of the early period was somewhat dimmed and as examples of cataclysmic conversions were fewer in number, more attention was given to those matters which might be regarded as likely to put a man in the way of being led by God in an experience which it was impossible for man to achieve alone. Although a man could not make himself a Christian, he could pray, go to church, and catechize his children as means of grace. Solomon Stoddard of Northampton even went so far as to allow

consciously unregenerate persons to partake of the communion in the hope that such a means might lead to their conversion. The message of the pulpit became not so much to repent at once, but to use means which would lead to repentance.

New England thought until the eighteenth century had been comparatively unconcerned with theology as a subject for complete systemization. The events of the "Great Awakening" of 1740 awakened a strong interest in such matters, however, and the "New England theology" began to emerge in a systematic formulation of doctrine. The two Edwards, Bellamy, Hopkins, Emmons, and Dwight were among its chief exponents. This school had, on the one hand, an orthodox wing, whose influence was gradually diminishing, of which Samuel Phillips, Thomas Clap, William Hart, and Moses Hemmenway were representatives, and on the other hand, a liberal wing, of which Experience and Jonathan Mayhew, Charles Chauncey, Lemuel Briant, Samuel Webster, and Clark Brown were typical, a movement of New England thought which eventually developed in the early nineteenth century the Unitarianism of Channing and Ware.

Theological discussion drew the attention of men from the consideration of personal religion. The "Great Awakening" brought back the enthusiasms of an earlier day, but it was soon followed by spiritual coolness and by repressive measures by the General Court against itinerant evangelism and lay exhorters, and attempts to smother criticism of existing religious institutions. The decline from the fervor of religious zeal aroused by the revivals of 1740 and the years following was so rapid that by 1758 Rev. Benjamin Throop, in an election sermon preached before the Connecticut General Court, stated: "There is an awful decay of religion, and an unreasonable spirit of jealousy and disquietude prevailing: the fear of God is amazingly cast off in this day. While some are disputing the per-

sonality of the Godhead and denying the Lord that bought them; others are ridiculing the important doctrine of atonement, and casting contempt upon the efficacious merits of a Glorious Redeemer; many are exploding the doctrine of a free and sovereign grace, and exalting human nature under all its depravity to a situation equal to all its necessities, thereby perverting the designs of the gospel, and frustrating, as far as may be, the means of our salvation."[63]

Religious conditions did not improve as the eighteenth century grew older. On the eve of the War for Independence, the Assembly, "considering the darker and gloomy aspect of Divine Providence over this Colony and land, and that it is the indispensible duty of every people suffering under the afflictive chastisements of a righteous God, with deep repentance, supplication and amendment of life, to endeavor by all the ways which God has prescribed to avert His anger and incline Him to become reconciled to His people," it was resolved to recommend to the ministers to dissuade their congregations from all excesses and diversions, "improper in the present day of distress; and that they and their people cry mightily to God, that He would spare His people and be gracious to them."[64]

The notable part played by the clergy in the American Revolution should not be overlooked in any survey of the religious life of this period. The account given by J. Wingate Thornton in *The Pulpit of The American Revolution* is an inspiring record, wherein "is the voice of the Fathers of the Republic enforced by their example." The disturbing factors which eventually led to the Revolution are admirably treated in J. T. Adams' *Revolutionary New England, 1691-1776.*

The decrease in learning, both in pulpit and in pew, the political disturbances, the consequences of war, the founding of

[63] Throop, Benj.: *Religion and Loyalty, the Duty and Glory of a People,* 1758, p. 21.

[64] *Conn. Rec.,* XIV, 1772-1775, pp. 434-435.

new towns, and the formalizing tendency within the church inhibited many from giving to religion the attention it once received.

C. IN THE SCHOOLS

Religious instruction in the schools of the eighteenth century differed little from the moral and religious training given in the schools of the preceding period. Legislation upon the subject remained upon the statute books with little alteration.

Schoolhouses and school equipment of this period continued to be the simplest. The schoolrooms were plain, with heavy benches and occasionally a globe to add to their interest. Books were scarce, and paper was rare and expensive. The school was generally opened with prayer, after which there followed lessons in spelling, writing, arithmetic, simple accounting, and reading.[65] The schoolmasters were not all educated men, and many of the schools were poor.

The salaries of the schoolmasters were not large. Colchester in June, 1716, agreed with one Nathaniel Lomis to keep school twelve months for the sum of twenty-five pounds ten shillings.[66] Free schools, as we know them today, were non-existent. The town paid part of the teacher's salary and the parents of the pupils paid a fixed rate.[67] Sometimes, as in the case of Harwinton in 1752, the school was kept for a few weeks in one part of the town and then moved to another, in order to accommodate widely separated groups of inhabitants.[68]

Lyman Beecher stated of his school, which he attended about 1790: "I went to school first at North Guilford, in a great barn of a schoolhouse, with desks around, and a long desk through the center. The best writer sat at the end next the fire. The fireplace took in wood cart lengths, and it was hot enough at

[65] Beach, J. P.: *Hist. of Cheshire*, p. 99.
[66] Taintor, Chas. M.: *Extracts from the Records of Colchester*, p. 16.
[67] *Ibid.*, p. 20.
[68] Chapman, R. Manning: *A Hist. of Harwinton, Conn.*, p. 44.

that end to roast an ox, and that was all the heat there was."[69] Thomas Robbins records in his diary for December 31, 1799, "In the forenoon no school for want of wood."[70]

The Assembly recognized the religious purpose in education when it enacted in October, 1714, that the civil authority with the selectmen in every town, or a major part of them, inspect the schools and give such directions as they should find needful, "to render such schools most serviceable to the increase of that knowledge, civility and religion, which is designed in the erecting of them."[71] In October of the following year they ordered that the constables and grand jurymen make diligent search after all breaches of the laws regarding the education of children.

The Indians of Connecticut were objects of solicitude by the General Court of Assembly throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The provisions of the Code of 1650 regarding the education of Indians remained upon the statute book until 1821. Rev. David Brainerd, missionary to the Indians "on the borders of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania," throws light upon the methods used in evangelizing the Indians. He states: "The method which I am taking to instruct the Indians in the principles of our holy religion, are, to preach, or open and improve some particular points of doctrine; to expound particular paragraphs, or sometimes whole chapters of God's word to them; to give historical relations from scripture of the most material and remarkable occurrences relating to the Church of God from the beginning; and frequently to catechise them upon the principles of Christianity. The latter of these methods of instructing, I manage in a twofold manner. I sometimes catechise systematically, proposing questions

[69] Beecher, Charles: *Autobiography and Correspondence of Lyman Beecher,* I, p. 32.

[70] Robbins, Thomas: *Diary,* I, 1796-1825, p. 104.

[71] *Conn. Rec.,* V, 1706-1716, p. 462.

agreeably to the Assembly's Shorter Catechism. This I have carried to a considerable length. At other times I catechise upon any important subject which I think difficult to them. Sometimes, when I have discoursed upon some particular point, and made it as plain and familiar to them as I can, I then catechise them upon the most material branches of my discourse, to see whether they had a thorough understanding of it. But as I have catechised chiefly in a systematical form, I shall here give some specimen of the method I make use of in it, as well as of the propriety and justness of my people's answers to the questions proposed to them.

Questions upon the benefits
believers receive from Christ at death.

Q. I have shown you, that the children of God receive a great many good things from Christ while they live, now have they any more to receive when they come to die?

A. Yes.

Q. Are the children of God then made perfectly free from sin?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you think they will never more be troubled with vain, foolish, and wicked thoughts?

A. No, never at all.

Q. Will they not then be like the good angels I have so often told you of?

A. Yes.

Q. And do you call this a great mercy to be freed from all sin?

A. Yes.

Q. Do all God's children count it so?

A. Yes, all of them.

Q. Do you think this is what they would ask for above all things, if God should say to them, Ask what you will, and it shall be done for you?

A. O yes, be sure, this is what they want.

Q. You say the souls of God's people at death are made perfectly free from sin, where do they go then?

A. They go and live with Jesus Christ.

Q. Does Christ shew them more respect and honor, and make them more happy than we can possibly think of in this world?

A. Yes.

Q. Do they go immediately to live with Christ in heaven, as soon as their bodies are dead? or do they tarry somewhere else a while?

A. They go immediately to Christ.

Q. Does Christ take any care of the bodies of his people when they are dead, and their souls gone to heaven, or does he forget them.

A. He takes care of them.

"These questions were all answered with surprising readiness, and without once missing, as I remember. In answering several of them, which respected deliverance from sin, they were much affected, and melted with the hopes of that happy state."[72]

The Assembly in 1717 resolved "That the business of gospelizing the Indians be referred to the sessions of this Assembly in October next, and that the Honorable the Governor and Council in the meantime be desired to consider and draw up what they judge may be most proper and effectual for that end."[73] Notices of an Indian school at Farmington are found in the colonial records from 1733 to 1736. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts employed a schoolmaster and secured the services of Rev. Adams and Rev. Jewett to preach to the Indians. In 1752, when the school and the master's house were in need of repair, the Assembly granted 150 pounds for that end.[74] Later, in 1755, money was granted to provide dinners for destitute Indian children attending the school.[75] In 1760 the schoolmaster Clelland was granted a small addition to his salary,[76] and in the following May he was

[72] Edwards, Rev. Jonathan, and Dwight, Sereno Edwards: *Memoirs of the Rev. David Brainerd,* New Haven, 1822 ed., pp. 338-339.

[73] *Conn. Rec.,* VI, 1717-1725, p. 15.

[74] *Ibid.,* X, 1751-1757, p. 115.

[75] *Ibid.,* p. 384.

[76] *Ibid.,* XI, 1757-1762, pp. 414, 517.

allowed a further six pounds to be used in providing dinners for Indian pupils.

In October, 1723, the General Court having an eye to the education of the Indians, allowed Capt. John Mason of Stonington to set up a school among them and acquaint them with the Christian religion, provided "the said Indians are freely willing and consenting to his so doing."[77]

The most conspicuous instance of an Indian school in Connecticut in the eighteenth century was the one founded by Rev. Eleazer Wheelock. In December, 1743, Samson Occum, a young Mohegan Indian who had been converted in the "Great Awakening," who later became famous as a preacher and hymn writer and was one of those primarily responsible for the founding of Dartmouth College, applied for admission as a student in the home of Rev. Mr. Wheelock of Lebanon. The action of this young Indian encouraged Wheelock to found an Indian school for the education of teachers and ministers who might convert other Indians to the Christian religion. The school was begun in 1754 with two Delaware boys, and by 1762 there were over twenty students in the school. Mr. Joshua Moor bequeathed a dwelling house for the use of the school, which assumed the name of "Moor's Indian Charity School." The Assembly granted a brief for the benefit of the school in 1763. By the year 1770 Connecticut had become so thickly settled that the school was removed to Hanover, New Hampshire, and incorporated with Dartmouth College, it being thought that an Indian school would do better in the wilder region to the north.

Text-books were scarce in this period. The principal reading books were various catechisms, the Bible, the New Testament, and the Psalms. A child at least became familiar with the language of religious thought, even though he may not have received much spiritual advantage. Noah Webster stated: "When

[77] *Conn. Rec.*, VI, 1717-1725, p. 429.

I was young, the books used were chiefly or wholly Dilworth's Spelling Books, the Psalter, Testament and Bible. No geography was studied before the publication of Dr. Morse's small books on that subject, about the year 1786 or 1787. No history was read, as far as my knowledge extends, for there was no abridged history of the United States. Except the books above mentioned, no book for reading was used before the publication of the Third Part of my Institute, in 1785."[78] Joseph T. Buckingham corroborates Webster's testimony in regard to the scarcity of school books: "There was not to my knowledge, any reading book proper except the Bible, till Webster's Third Book, so called, came out about 1793 or 1794. A new edition of his spelling book furnished some new matter for reading—selections from the New Testament, a chapter of Proverbs, and set of Tables, etc.; but none of these operated to the exclusion of the Bible."[79]

An account of schools in Bolton near the close of the eighteenth century, given by an aged resident, is typical of the schools throughout Connecticut: "They had in Bolton in her younger years—master in winter and female in summer three to four months. Each school 6, 7, and 8 months in year. They had Dilworth and afterwards Webster's Spelling book. Psalter or testament and afterwards Third part. Teachers boarded round. Catechism was taught in school and when the minister visited the school he asked all the questions in the catechism as well as heard them read and spell, etc. In her later school years her father bought Guthrie's Great Geography and she studied it at school and two or three others did. A few studied grammar. Choosing sides for spelling was done. One at the head of each

[78] Noah Webster, in a letter to Henry Barnard, New Haven, March 10, 1840, *Am. Jour. of Ed.*, Vol. 14, 1863, p. 123.

[79] Letter from the Hon. Joseph T. Buckingham, Cambridge, Dec. 10, 1860, in a collection entitled "Schools as They were Sixty Years Ago," *Am. Jour. of Ed.*, Vol. 13, 1863, p. 131.

side chose alternately, selecting the best spellers first but took all in certain classes. Those who were last chosen were the poorest spellers and looked cheap. Catechism was not said in the meeting house. Dialogues were learned and performed when she went to school in Bolton. When she was a dozen years old they had an exhibition in the meeting house, the tops of the pews were covered with boards and blankets and blankets hung under the galleries or a part of them. She had a part to perform."[80]

Teaching during this period was of a low order in most parishes. It was bettered in some localities by the employment of the clergy or of Yale students and graduates. The custom of having a man teacher in winter and a woman in summer was quite general.

The actual religious training appears to have consisted chiefly of opening and closing exercises, including Scripture reading and prayer. A certain amount of catechizing was carried on in addition to these regular exercises. Such instruction in the common schools undoubtedly fell away in the general decline in religion after the first generation of settlers had passed away. Samuel Mather cautioned in 1706: "Be very careful of the good education of the rising generation, at home and abroad. Schools of learning are too much wanting in diverse places in this land and colony; and have been so for many years; the loss and damage that cometh thereby is great and irreparable: yet let us do what we can for our parts, for the time to come."[81]

[80] Alvord, S. M.: *A Historical Sketch of Bolton, Conn.*, p. 19; report of an interview of Sylvester Judd with a Mrs. Jonathan Birge, born in Bolton in 1775.

[81] Mather, Samuel: *The Self-Justiciary*, preface, p. 12.

VIII.

Materials of Religious Instruction in the Period 1712-1798.

BOOKS were rare in most Connecticut homes. Such materials as existed for moral and religious instruction were handed down from generation to generation. Other books of religious character gradually came forward to supplement and take the place of the materials of earlier times. Something in the nature of a literary movement may be said to have started in and around Boston toward the close of the seventeenth century. Sewall, Richard Henchman, Nicholas Noyes, Nehemiah Hobart, Experience Mayhew, and others were writing poetry of a sort, and on the religious side they were reinforced by Cotton Mather, Samuel Phillips, and their fellow clergymen. Religious treatises in cheap booklet form and sermons in pamphlets circulated widely. Wright observed of the poets: "This group did not produce any body of good verse, because none of its members had any real talent for poetry: but that they encouraged each other's efforts, shows that literary culture in New England had reached the creative stage.[1] Although this literary movement was not strong, religion profited by it probably more than any other department of life.

Julius Gay gives the list of the collection of books in the library of one Samuel Gridly of Farmington in 1712. The books were nearly all of a religious character. Dramatic works and fiction were not in favor with the New Englanders of this period. The list included the Bible; Sternhold and Hopkins'

[1] Wright, T. G.: *Literary Culture in New England, 1620-1730*, p. 206; see also pp. 205-215 for the production of literature in the years 1700 to 1727.

book of psalms, "with apt notes to sign them withall"; Ainsworth's *Booke of Psalmes: Englished both in Prose and Metre,* and the Bay Psalm Book. There was also a *Discourse Concerning Comets,* by Increase Mather; *Time and the End of Time,* by John Fox, printed in Boston in 1701; a sermon; *Sion in Distress, or the Groans of the Protestant Church,* Boston, 1683, a book against the Catholics; a *Spiritual Almanac;* a sermon, the *Unpardonable Sin; The Doctrine of Divine Providence opened and Applied,* by Increase Mather; *Man's Chief End to Glorifie God, or Some Brief Sermon Notes,* by Rev. John Bailey; *How to Walk with God, or Early Piety Exemplified, in the Life and Death of Mr. Nathaniel Mather;* and *The Wonders of the Invisible World,* a book written by Cotton Mather at the request of the Governor of Massachusetts Bay, Sir William Phipps, in justification of the Salem witchcraft prosecutions. Other volumes of kindred nature were listed. An inventory of the effects of Samuel Hubbell, a well-to-do Fairfield citizen who died in 1714, contains a number of books, nearly all of which are of a religious nature. The list includes *"Pilgrim's Progress, A token for children, Mr. Mather's Works, the young man's guide, A preparation for ye Sacrament,"* and others of like nature.[1a]

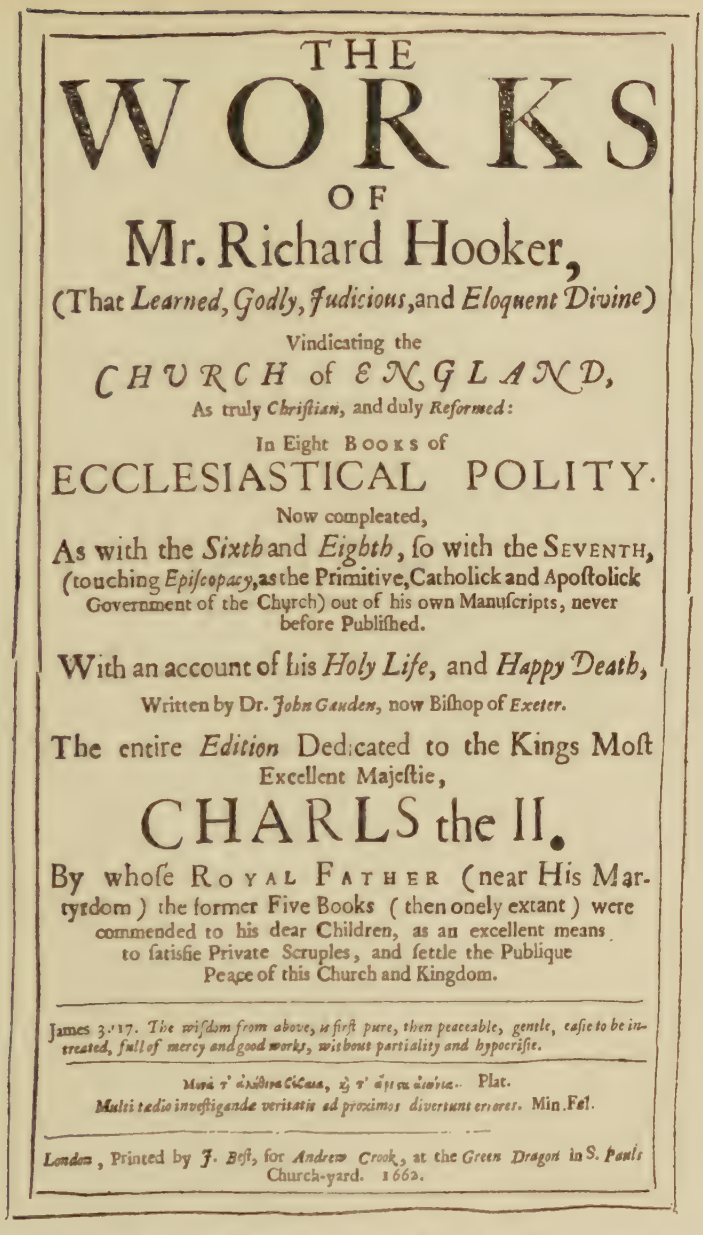
Cotton Mather in 1705 at Boston published *Parental Wishes and Charges, or, The Enjoyment of a Glorious Christ Proposed, or The Great Blessedness which Christian Parents desire for Themselves and Their Children.* In 1713, *The A. B. C. of Religion, Lessons relating to the Fear of God, Fitted into the Youngest and Lowest Capacities, and Children suitably instructed in the Maxims of Religion,* by the same author, was printed in Boston. Cotton Mather was a prolific writer. While his father, Increase Mather, brought out some one hundred and fifty books and pamphlets, the son published not less than

[1a] Hurd, D. Hamilton: *Hist. of Fairfield County,* p. 71.

four hundred! He ranks with Jonathan Edwards and Benjamin Franklin as best representing the literature produced by the third and fourth generations of colonists.[2] Among his writings were many books for children or upon the religious training of children. *Parentalia, An Essay upon the Blessings and Comforts Reserved for Pious Children after the Death of Their Pious Parents,* came out in 1715 in Boston. His *Early Piety exemplified in Elizabeth Butcher of Boston* appeared in the fourth edition in 1718. *The Way of Truth laid out. A Catechism which, as with Supplies from the Tower of David, Arms Christians of all Ages, to Refute the Errors which most commonly assault the Cause of Christianity: and To Preserve the Faith once delivered unto the Saints. In Seven Essays . . . By Cotton Mather . . . The Second Edition,* came out in Boston in 1721. This catechism was first published as a part of *The Man of God furnished with supplies from the Tower of David,* in 1708. He also contributed one of the discourses in *A Course of Sermons on Early Piety. By the Eight Ministers who carry on the Thursday lecture in Boston. With a Preface by the Reverend Dr. Increase Mather, And also closed with a Discourse lately had by him to Young People,* which was printed in 1721.

A Token for Children, being an Exact Account of the Conversion, Holy and Exemplary Lives and Joyful Deaths of Several Young Children, by James Janeway, was published in Boston in 1728. The work contains stories of infants who were prodigies of humility and religious perception. A foreword was prefixed addressed "to all Parents, School-Masters, and School-Mistresses, or any that are concerned in the Education of Children." The "Preface containing Directions to Children" reveals the theological approach characteristic of the times. "You may now hear (my dear lambs) what other good

[2] Perry, Bliss: *The American Spirit in Literature,* p. 45.



THE
WORKS
OF
Mr. Richard Hooker,
(That *Learned, Godly, Judicious,* and *Eloquent Divine*)

Vindicating the

CHURCH of *ENGLAND,*

As truly *Christian,* and duly *Reformed:*

In Eight BOOKS of

ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY.

Now compleated,

As with the *Sixth* and *Eighth,* ſo with the SEVENTH, (touching *Epiſcopacy,* as the Primitive, Catholick and Apoſtolick Government of the Church) out of his own Manuſcripts, never before Publiſhed.

With an account of his *Holy Life,* and *Happy Death,*

Written by Dr. *John Gauden,* now Biſhop of *Exeter.*

The entire *Edition* Dedicated to the Kings Moſt Excellent Majeſtie,

CHARLS the II.

By whoſe ROYAL FATHER (near His Martyrdom) the former Five Books (then onely extant) were commended to his dear Children, as an excellent means to ſatisfie Private Scruples, and ſettle the Publique Peace of this Church and Kingdom.

James 3.17. *The wiſdom from above, is firſt pure, then peaceable, gentle, eaſie to be intreated, full of mercy and good works, without partiality and hypocriſie.*

Μυρία τ' ἀλλήλων ἐξέφυσαν, ἢ τ' ἄρτια διώκει. Plat.
Multi tedio inveſtigandæ veritatis ad proximos diverſum erroret. Min. Fel.

London, Printed by *J. Beſt,* for *Andrew Crook,* at the *Green Dragon* in S. *Paul's* Church-yard. 1662.

Title-page from the sixth volume of the first complete edition of Richard Hooker's *Works*. The first four volumes were apparently printed in 1594. The fifth volume came out in 1597; the sixth in 1648; and the whole in 1662. Hooker's *Works* were much read by Puritan divines during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

children have done, and remember how they wept and prayed by themselves? . . . But tell me, my dear children, and tell me truly, do you do as these children did? Did you ever see your miserable state by nature? Did you ever get by yourself, and weep for sin and pray for grace and pardon? Did you ever go to your father and mother, master and mistress, and beg of them to pity you, and pray for you, and to teach you what you shall do to be saved, what you shall do to get Christ, heaven and glory? Dost thou love to be taught good things? Come tell me truly, my dear child, for I would fain do what I can possibly to keep thee from falling into everlasting fire." This little volume was popular until after 1800.

Isaac Watts, in 1730, published in London his *Catechisms, or, Instructions in the Principles of the Christian Religion, and the History of Scripture, Composed for Children and Youth, According to their different Ages.*[3] This book, or parts of it, ran through a number of editions.[4] To the catechetical part of the work is prefixed, "A Discourse on the Way of Instruction by Catechisms, and the best Manner of Composing them," wherein Watts advocates the adaptation of the materials of religious education to the mind of the pupil. He constructed different catechisms for different ages. One of the reasons for catechizing children was that many were summoned by death and the "righteous Judge of the world will call the small as well as the great to the bar of account."[5] Watts insisted it was the parents' duty to instruct children in the Christian religion. Instruction should be partly by reason and partly by authority of the parents. "Short summaries of religion are necessary for the

[3] A copy is in the Yale Library. The account of works intended for spiritual uses given in this chapter is meant to be typical. An exhaustive list would require more space than would be justified.

[4] Eames, Wilberforce: "Early New England Catechisms," *Proc. of Am. Antiq. Soc.*, N. S., XII, 1897-1898, pp. 164-169.

[5] Watts, Isaac: *Catechisms*, p. 2.

ignorant."[6] "Catechisms are the best summaries of religion for children."[7] Watts observes, "The great question that now remains is this, what sort of catechisms are most proper for the use of children? The answer is very natural, and ever at hand: Surely such catechisms must be best which they can best understand."[8] In answering a possible objection to writing another catechism after the form of the Assembly of Divines work, he answered: "The plainest and most obvious reason for composing shorter and easier catechisms for your children is because that of the Assembly of Divines contains one hundred and seven questions and answers, and it is therefore much too heavy a task for their memory. Some of these answers also are formed in too long connected sentences for the minds of children to comprehend or to remember; And there is much of the sense, as well as the style and language of it, too hard for children to understand."[9] He gave rules for composing catechisms for children, the first one being, "That different catechisms be composed for different ages and capacities, each of which should contain an abstract of Christianity, or a view of our whole religion in miniature,"[10] the second, "In younger catechisms insert only those things which are necessary to be known by children and which are plain and easy to be understood by them," the third, "Seek out and make use of the very plainest words that can convey the ideas of these necessary things to the minds of children,"[11] the fourth, "Even among the important things of religion, there is no need to enumerate all the particulars under any general with too great exactness." Ten other rules follow. His catechisms are then given in full with

[6] Watts, Isaac: *Catechisms*, Sec. III, pp. 8-14.
[7] *Ibid.*, Sec. IV, pp. 15-16.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 17.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 21.
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 38.
[11] *Ibid.*, p. 44.

introductory notes. The first one is "for a young child" from three to four years of age and begins,

> Question. Can you tell me, child, who made you?
> Answer. The Great God who made heaven and earth.[12]

The first catechism consists of twenty-four questions. The second was "for children, which they may begin at seven or eight years old, according to their different capacity."[13] The third was the "Westminster Shorter Catechism" for children of twelve to fourteen years of age.[14] The fourth was, "A Preservative From Sins and Follies of Childhood and Youth." Watts said of it, "I do not call it a catechism because I do not propose it to be learnt by heart."[15] The fifth was a "Catechism of Scripture Names for Children"; the sixth, "The Historical Catechism for Children and Youth"; and the seventh, "A Catalogue of remarkable Names in Scripture." Watts' work on catechisms was the finest of the period. Said Frederic Palmer, "That child-world, whose discovery has been so marked a feature of the last fifty years, was unknown in the seventeenth century, and Isaac Watts was the Columbus who brought it into notice."[16]

The Episcopalians suffered from a lack of Books of Common Prayer and catechisms in the early years of this period. A repeated petition was made in August, 1722, to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel for the same, "than which nothing (besides a Bishop)" could be more advantageous to a successful ministry in the mind of the writer.[17] Rev. Samuel Johnson, writing from Stratford October 25, 1730, to the secretary

[12] Watts, Isaac: *Catechisms*, p. 79.
[13] *Ibid.*, p. 87.
[14] *Ibid.*, p. 115.
[15] *Ibid.*, p. 153.
[16] Palmer, Frederic: article, "Isaac Watts," *Harv. Theo. Rev.*, Oct., 1919, p. 390.
[17] Letter of Mr. Pigot to the secretary of the S. P. G. in Hawkes and Perry: *Doc. Hist. Prot. Epis. Church in Conn.*, pp. 57, 60.

of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts in London, asking for "Prayer Books and the Exposition of the Church Catechism," also desired "a few Osterwald Catechisms and Whole Duties of Man." If the Prayer Books were sent, he desired them to have Tate and Brady's psalms bound with them; "for," he remarked,"they only are used among us."[18]

Samuel Phillips, of Andover, 1738, issued his catechism entitled *The Orthodox Christian; or, A Child well instructed in the Principles of the Christian Religion; Exhibited in a Discourse by Way of Catechizing,* published in Boston.[19] The catechism proper begins in somewhat different fashion from the usual work of its kind:

Minister. I am very glad, child, that we have the opportunity of meeting again, at the appointed time and place.

Child. I am so likewise; and I must needs say, Sir, that I have thought the interval longer than common.

Min. I rejoice to hear it; I hope then, that you take delight in such opportunities.

Ch. I think I do, Sir; and, I desire to be very thankful to God for it.

The catechism embraces one hundred and thirty-five pages of instruction of which the author in the preface remarked, "Although it cannot be expected, that you should commit the whole to memory; yet, I trust, that you will be so just to me, and so kind to yourselves, as frequently to peruse the same." Phillips published other works of instruction, entitled *A Word in Season. Or, The Duty of People to Take and Keep the Oath of Allegiance to the Glorious God,* Boston, 1727,[20] and, *Children well imployed and Jesus much delighted; or, The Hosannahs of Zion's Children, Highly Pleasing to Zion's King: A plain*

[18] *Doc. Hist. Prot. Epis. Church in Conn.,* p. 145.
[19] A copy is in the Yale Library.
[20] A copy is in the Yale Library.

Discourse lately preached to the Children of the South Parish in Andover; and now dedicated to their Use, Boston, 1739.[21] The two last works were sermons.

A Catechism, Or, The Principles of the Christian Religion, Explained in a familiar and easy Manner, adapted to the lowest Capacities, by the late Bp. Innes, Burchin Diocese, Aberdeen, was reprinted at New Haven in 1791. Samuel Seabury, the first Protestant Episcopal bishop of Connecticut, was the publisher. The work contained fifty-nine octavo pages. The material was arranged in forty-four lessons and intended for the use of parents in instructing their children.[22]

Philip Doddridge in 1754 published in Boston *The Principles of the Christian Religion expressed in Plain and Easy Verse.* Two years later Doddridge published his *Plain and Serious Address To The Master of a Family, On the Important Subject of Family-Religion,* a volume which ran through four editions by 1766. In this pamphlet Doddridge advocated family worship as the most proper way of teaching children religion, "as you teach them language, by insensible degrees."[23] By proper attention to this duty, homes were to become nurseries of piety. It would be the greatest cruelty to the children thus to neglect giving them the advantages of family worship, "which no other cares in education itself exclusive of these can afford."[24] He urged family devotions as a means of driving out drunkenness, lewdness, profanity, and abuse of the Sabbath.[25] Doddridge recommended *Jenkes' Devotions* and *The Family Prayer Book, printed for Mr. Waugh,* as good collections for those who felt they had no ability to lead prayers and condemned "irreconcil-

[21] A copy is in the Yale Library.

[22] A copy is in the Yale Library.

[23] Doddridge, Philip: *Plain and Serious Address To The Master of a Family,* ed. 1766, p. 11. The first edition was advertised as just published in the *Conn. Gazette* of May 1, 1756.

[24] *Ibid.,* p. 13.

[25] *Ibid.,* p. 15.

able aversion to forms of prayer, even of human composition, as vain a superstition as a passionate attachment to them."[26] He closed the pamphlet with two prayers in order that the reader might "be disarmed of every excuse as to the want of necessary helps."[27]

The same author in 1763 brought out the fourth edition of his *Sermons on The Religious Education of Children, Preached at Northampton, . . . With a Recommendatory Preface by the Reverend Mr. David Some.*

A volume entitled *Family Religion Revived* was published at New Haven in 1755. The book was in two parts, the first, "On Family-Worship: Containing Reasons, Directions, Helps and Motives for a decent and devout Performance of it"; the second, "On the Education of Children, and Family Government. Shewing the Way and Method in which Children should be educated. Precautions to be used, and Motives to excite thereto."[28] This excellent little book of one hundred and seven octavo pages is full of wise suggestion. The author was not bound by the Puritan prejudice against read prayers, but urged the use of some "pre-composed forms of prayer" if the parent were unable to conceive his own petitions.[29] Several forms of prayer for family worship are incorporated in the text. Children were to be taught that they were "sinful fallen creatures: that they have corrupt hearts which incline them to evil."[30]

After the middle of the eighteenth century newspapers and other periodicals began to appear in Connecticut. The *Connecticut Gazette* was established in New London in 1757. In New Haven the *Connecticut Journal, and New Haven Post Boy* was started in 1768, followed by the *Connecticut Courant* at Hart-

[26] Doddridge, Philip: *Plain and Serious Address, etc.*, p. 24.
[27] *Ibid.*, p. 43.
[28] A copy is in the Boston Public Library.
[29] *Family Religion Revived*, p. 19.
[30] *Ibid.*, p. 66.

ford in 1764 and the *American Mercury* in the same town in 1785. Numerous journals were established in the two decades before 1800. These sheets were often small and ill printed and inasmuch as their newsgathering facilities were limited they contained much literary matter. They offered excellent mediums for the publication of sermons or exhortations on religious themes and were a favorite arena for religious and political controversy. Through these humble precursors of the modern American daily newspapers came not only the breath of the great outside world but also a great deal of spiritual admonition and religious teaching.

An idea of the number and nature of the current books of the day may be gotten by an advertisement in the *Connecticut Courant* in September, 1765. "To be sold, at the Heart and Crown, opposite the State House in Hartford: Plain and gilt Bibles, Common Prayer Books, plain and gilt; Testaments; Dillworth's Spelling Books; Psalters; Death of Abel; Trial of Abraham; Watts' Psalms; Penitential Cries; Royal Primer; Mayhew's Thanksgiving Sermons; Ditto on Popish Idolatry; Winthrops Voyage; The Rights of the British Colonies; Mather's Dissertations, concerning the venerable name of Jehovah; New England's Prospect," etc.[31]

Much informal religious teaching was conveyed by the few newspapers and almanacs of the period. Stories, such as "The Lyons Merchant and his two daughters," and narrative poems, such as "The Impossibility of pleasing every Body, unless all be of one Mind," are typical bits of literature with a definite moral coloring.[32] There were in addition many admonitions against intemperance.[33] Articles on religious subjects occurred frequently.[34] With the establishment of printing presses and

[31] *Conn. Courant*, Sept. 16, 1765, No. 43, p. 1.
[32] Daboll's *New England Almanac*, 1775.
[33] Beers' *Almanac*, 1792; *ibid.*, 1801.
[34] *The Connecticut Almanac*, 1780.

newspapers the means of manufacture and advertisement of tracts, sermons, and larger publications was facilitated.

In 1790 *The Moral and Religious Miscellany; or Sixty One Aphoretical Essays, on some of the Most Important Christian Doctrines and Virtues,* by Hugh Knox, D.D., in St. Croix, was published. It was a series of short essays upon matters of Christian life and practice, beginning with conversion and regeneration.

A volume entitled *Moral Instructions of a Father to His Son, Ready to Undertake a Long Voyage; Or, An Easy Manner of Forming a Young Man to all Kinds of Virtue. Translated from the French of Silvester Du Four. To Which is Added, A Collection of Moral Instructions in Prose and verse, from the best Authors,* was published in Norwich in 1796.

The New England Primer went through a large number of editions during the seventeenth century. The twenty-four verses suffered gradual changes with the exception of the first one corresponding to the letter "A."

In Adam's fall
We sinned all.

As originally written, many of the verses of the rhymed alphabet were not religious. Such lines were evangelized by later editors. A typical example would be:

The cat doth play,
And after slay.

which was altered to read

Christ crucify'd
For sinners dy'd.[35]

[35] Ford, Paul Leicester: *The New England Primer,* p. 29.

By the early nineteenth century, public opinion had reversed the evangelization process, and verses of a secular and worldly nature were substituted for those containing Biblical and religious allusions. For

> Proud Korah's troop
> Was swallowed up.

there was inserted,

> 'Tis youth's delight
> To fly their Kite.[36]

Spelling books underwent the same transformation as the New England Primer; more and more secular matter was added.[37]

Poetry also had a place among the materials of religious instruction in Connecticut in the eighteenth century. John Ward Dean, in a memoir of Michael Wigglesworth, states that "A century ago no poetry was more popular in New England than Wigglesworth's Day of Doom." Francis Jenks, Esq., in an article in the *Christian Examiner* for November, 1828, speaks of it as "a work which was taught our fathers with their catechisms, and which many an aged person with whom we are acquainted can still repeat."[38] The "Day of Doom" was a long poem full of Calvinistic theological teaching. It was published about 1662. The first edition of 1,800 copies sold within a year.[39]

John Ashton's *Chap-Books of the Eighteenth Century, with Facsimiles, Notes and Introduction,* gives an excellent account

[36] Ford, Paul Leicester: *The New England Primer,* p. 31. Ford cites a New England Primer dated New York, 1819, for this change.

[37] Holtz, Adrian Augustus: *A Study of the Moral and Religious Elements in American Secondary Education up to 1800,* 1917, p. 66.

[38] Wigglesworth, Michael: *Day of Doom;* see "Memoirs of The Author" in reprint of the sixth ed. of 1715, 1867, p. 3.

[39] *Ibid.,* p. 6.

of many of the children's books in this period. Among the chapbooks he notices, which are of a moral or religious nature, are *The History of Joseph and His Brethren, The Wandering Jew, The Gospel of Nicodemus, The unhappy Birth, wicked Life, and miserable Death of that vile Traytor and Apostle Judas Iscariot, Aesop's Fables,* and others.

Charles Welsh, the chapman of the "Sette of Odd Volumes," speaks of the children's books of the eighteenth century as possessing "the didactic and tiresome style of the 'age of prose and reason.' "[40] Many also contained much coarse and even obscene material. The wares of many of the wandering tradesmen called "chapmen" found their way to America. John Newberry, "The philanthropic publisher of St. Paul's Church Yard," was one of the first booksellers to introduce a juvenile library and to offer children's books in more durable form than the chapbooks of the day, which were simply folded.[41] The "Battledores" of this period, printed in enormous numbers, were modifications of the hornbook, being heavy paper printed and folded twice or three times. Newberry published many works for children and has been accredited with the authorship of the famous *Goody Two Shoes* which appeared in 1765, although Charles Welsh gives that distinction to Oliver Goldsmith.[42] This book ran through many editions and persisted in great popularity until after 1800. The history of the education of a little girl was used in this book as a vehicle to carry moral observations to the mind of the youthful readers. The Newberry publishers brought out some dozens of small books for children in the years 1740 to 1800.[43] They were: *Looking Glass for the Mind, The New*

[40] Welsh, Charles: *Some Children's Books of the Last Century,* 1886, p. 17.

[41] Welsh, Charles: *A Bookseller of the last Century, Being some Account of the Life of John Newberry, and of the Books he published, with a Notice of the later Newberrys,* 1885, p. 91.

[42] Welsh, Charles: *Facsimile Reprint of Goody Two Shoes,* 1881, XVIII.

[43] Welsh, Charles: *A Bookseller of the Last Century,* 1886, gives a list of the Newberry publications in an appendix.

Testament Adopted, being an arrangement for children, *Moral Sketches for young minds,* and *Blossoms of Morality.*

Excellent accounts of the materials of religious instruction at this time are given in an appendix to the *Twenty-Sixth Annual Report of the American Sunday School Union,* Philadelphia, 1850. Frederick A. Packard, the editor of publications of the Union, had sent out a request for information regarding juvenile books used in the childhood of people fifty or sixty years of age. The answers which came back gave first-hand testimony as to the nature, number, and price of children's books at the close of the eighteenth century. A lady from Hartford, in addition to *Watts' Divine Songs, The New England Primer, John Rogers being burned at the stake, The whale swallowing Jonah, Blue Beard, Jack the Giant Killer, Pilgrim's Progress,* and the Bible, also mentions *The Royal Guide: or An easy introduction to reading English, etc.,* printed *for E. Newberry, at the corner of St. Paul's Churchyard.* She remarked, "When *The Life of Mrs. Harriet Newell* first came out, I read it as I never have read, and never shall read another book, *because it would do to read on Sunday.*"

Music had suffered a notable decline in the colonies by the close of the seventeenth century. Books had decreased, and many were unlike in text and in melody. Tunes were confused and twisted to suit the individual taste of the singer. The knowledge and use of notes had been so long neglected that the few tunes which were sung suffered many changes. The Rev. Mr. Symmes remarked in his sermon on *The reasonableness of regular singing or singing by note:* "It is with great difficulty that this part of worship is performed, and with great indecency in some congregations for want of skill. It is to be feared, singing must be wholly omitted in some places, for want of skill, if this art is not revived."[44] Litchfield, Canter-

[44] Quoted in Hood, George: *A History of Music in New England,* p. 85.

bury, York, Windsor, Cambridge, and Old Hundred were favorite tunes.[45]

A number of divines took an active interest in reform in church singing in the early part of the eighteenth century. Rev. Mr. Tufts of the Second Church in Newbury, Massachusetts, published at least two works on music; the first one bore the title *An Introduction to the singing of Psalm-Tunes; in a plain and easy method; With a Collection of Tunes in three Parts. By the Reverend Mr. Tufts. Boston . . .* 1715. The eleventh edition of this work was published in Boston in 1744. A note in Evans' *American Bibliography* states that this is "The first publication of its kind printed in the United States." The second musical work of Tufts was entitled, *A very plain and easy Introduction to the Art of Singing Psalm Tunes: With the Cantus or Trebles of Twenty-eight Psalm Tunes, contrived in such a manner, as that the Learner may attain the Skill of Singing them, with the greatest ease and Speed imaginable. By Rev. Mr. John Tufts. Price 6d. or 5s. the duz.* Hood places the first printing of these two works about the year 1712 or 1714.[46] He places them in reverse order.

The next notable contribution to reform of singing was made by Cotton Mather in 1718, when he published his *Psalterium Americanum, The Book of Psalms, In a translation exactly conforming unto the Original; but all in blank verse, fitted unto the tunes commonly used in the Church.* The author gives a fervent and learned introduction to his work, which is a translation of the psalms into blank verse. Nine of the psalms were arranged with two syllables in the line in heavy black type, which could be dropped from the singing if another tune were desired and the sense would still be preserved.[47] There is no evidence that this version achieved any degree of popularity.

[45] Gay, Julius: *Church Music in Farmington in the Olden Time,* p. 14.
[46] Hood, George: *A History of Music in New England,* pp. 65-66.
[47] A copy is in the Yale Library.

Two years later, Rev. Thomas Symmes, A.M., D.D., of Bradford, Massachusetts, took up his pen in advocacy of improvement in singing. His first sermon was written in 1720, *The reasonableness of regular singing or singing by note. In an essay to revive the true and ancient mode of singing psalm-tunes, according to the pattern of our New-England psalm books, the knowledge and practice of which is greatly decayed in most congregations. Writ by a Minister of the Gospel. Perused by several Ministers in the Town and Country, and published with the approbation of all who read it. Boston, 1720.* The second sermon was written in 1722 and was called *A discourse concerning prejudice in matters of religion. Or an essay to shew the nature, causes, and effects of such prejudices; and also the means of preventing, or removing them, Boston, 1722.*[48] In the preceding year, 1721, Thomas Walter had published in Boston a work entitled: *The grounds and rules of Musick explained, or an introduction to the art of singing by note.* An essay by Symmes put forth in 1723 was dubbed *Utile Dulci. Or a Joco-Serious dialogue, concerning regular singing, calculated for a particular town (where it was publickley had, on Friday, Oct. 12, 1722) but may serve some other places in the same climate. Boston, 1723.* Symmes was a man of considerable influence and learning, and his arguments carried weight among the ministers and other people of New England. Many of the clergy at this time saw the necessity of cultivating music, this important element of worship, and strongly urged the establishment of singing schools. The most influential ministers of New England joined in exhorting for better singing in the house of God. Mather, Edwards, Stoddard, Symmes, Dwight, Wise, Walter, Thatcher, Prince, and others spoke from the pulpit in the interest of the reform.

In Boston in 1721 Cotton Mather published his *Accom-*

[48] A copy is in the Yale Library.

plished Singer, which was a plea for singing "by rule."[49] He began the work with a proposal: "It is proposed, That the Pastors of the churches, would frequently use a short Expository Preface (which need not extend beyond four or five minutes) upon that paragraph of a Psalm which is going to be sung in the congregation: A short exposition, expressing the lessons of piety to be found in the verses now to be sung and the tempers or wishes of piety which they are to be sung withal. What a marvellous improvement in piety; Yea, what a comfort with the multitude of the heavenly host, would follow upon such a proposal duely prosecuted!"[50] He asserted: "But in the pursuance of this holy intention, it would be very desirable, that people, (and especially our YOUNG PEOPLE, who are most in the years of discipline,) would more generally learn to sing and become able to sing by RULE, and keep to the notes of the tunes . . . It has been found accordingly that in some of our Congregations, that in the length of time, their *singing* has degenerated, into an *odd noise.*"[51]

Isaac Watts brought out an edition of "Hymns" at London in 1707. In 1719 he published his first American edition of *Divine and Moral Songs,* which went through at least sixteen editions by the year 1772. The first edition was published in the year 1715 in London, under the title *Divine Songs Attempted in Easy Language for the Use of Children.*[52] These songs were full of reverence and tenderness, and sought to convey to the child the Calvinists' idea of the absoluteness and transcendence of God through language which he could understand. It was characteristic of Watts that he departed from the

[49] Mather, Cotton: *The Accomplished Singer,* 1721, preface. A copy is in the Yale Library.

[50] *Ibid.,* 1721, preface.

[51] *Ibid.,* p. 22.

[52] See Stone, Wilbur Macey: *The Divine and Moral Songs of Isaac Watts. An Essay thereon and a tentative List of Editions,* 1918, for a discussion of Watts' songs.

A Token, for the *CHILDREN* of NEW-ENGLAND.

OR,

Some *EXAMPLES* of

Children,

In whom the Fear of GOD was Remarkably Budding, before they *Dyed*.

In Several Parts of

NEW-ENGLAND.

Preserved and Published, for the *ENCOURAGEMENT* of *PIETY* in other

CHILDREN.

[By C. Mather]

Boston, in N.E. Printed by *Timothy Green*, for *Benjamin Eliot*, at his Shop, under the West-End of the Town House. 1700.

Title-page from Cotton Mather's *Token, for the Children of New England.*

writers of the day in not presupposing precocious piety. He attempted to adapt the materials to the age of the persons for whom they were intended. Watts stated that it was a delight to children to learn truths and duties through song; "There is something so amusing and entertaining in rhymes and metre, that will incline children to make this part of their business and diversion." He recommended the use of verse in order that the material might better be held in memory. The songs were intended for all classes of people and especially recommended for daily and weekly worship and for use in the family.[53] David Guy brought out in London in 1774 a *Complete Index to Dr. Watts' Psalms*, arranged alphabetically and giving a reference for each line. Ezra Stiles stated that in 1780 the college and the meetings in the town sang Watts' version of the psalms. He mentioned the fortieth edition of *Dr. Watts' Psalms*, published in Newburyport, Massachusetts, in his *Diary* under date of December 8, 1781. The later editions were altered by leaving out references to Great Britain and to the King, as in the seventy-fifth Psalm. Leonard Bacon remarked of *Watts' Psalms:* "It is not easy for us at this day to conceive the effect that must have been produced in the Christian communities of America by the advent of Isaac Watts' marvelous poetic work. . . . No other instance of the kind is comparable with the publication in America of Watts Psalms. When we remember how scanty were the resources of religious poetry in American homes in the early eighteenth century, and especially how rude and even grotesque the rhymes that served in the various churches as a vehicle of worship, it seems that the coming of the melodious stanzas, in which the meaning of one poet is largely interpreted by the sympathetic insight of another poet, and the fervid devotion of the Old Testament is informed with the life and transfigured in the language of the New, must have

[53] See preface to an edition dated London, 1690.

been like a glow of sunlight breaking in upon a gray and cloudy day."[54]

In 1696 Nahum Tate, poet laureate of England, and Dr. Nicholas Brady, chaplain to the King, had published a new version of the psalms. This songbook grew to be a favorite in the Episcopal churches in the colonies.[55]

A singing book by Rev. Thomas Walter of Roxbury, Massachusetts, was published in 1721, entitled, *The Grounds and rules of Musick explained: or an Introduction to the art of singing by note: Fitted to the meanest capacities.*[56] This singing book went through many editions; Hood stated that the last edition he had seen was published in 1764.[57] Solomon Stoddard published a fifteen-page pamphlet entitled, *An Answer to Some Cases of Conscience respecting the Country,* etc., in 1722. The following year an ingenious argument for "regular singing," was published by Peter Thacher and others, called *Cases of conscience about singing psalms, briefly considered and resolved: An essay, by several Ministers of the Gospel; for the satisfaction of their pious and conscientious brethren,* etc. Hood confuses these two publications because of the similarity of titles.[58] He cites Allen as crediting Solomon Stoddard with the second work.[59] Excitement ran high over the issue of singing by note, and in 1723 a *Pacificatory Letter,* which Hood believed was written by Dr. Cotton Mather and which Evans lists as from his pen, did much to calm the storm. Sermons and pamphlets were constantly being published on the subject during the seventeen-twenties, including one by Rev. Nathaniel Chauncey

[54] Bacon, Leonard Woolsey: *A History of American Christianity* (1897), pp. 182-183.

[55] Stiles, Ezra: *Literary Diary,* II, 1776-1781, p. 400. A copy of the 1696 edition of Tate and Brady's psalms is in the Yale Library.

[56] A 1721 edition and also later editions are in the Library of Congress.

[57] Hood, George: *A History of Music in New England,* p. 77.

[58] *Ibid.,* p. 87.

[59] See Evan's *American Bibliography,* I, Nos. 2387 and 2485.

of Durham, Connecticut, in favor of regular singing, which was adopted by the General Association as their position. Hood stated that he was able to find ten lengthy tracts upon the subject of improvement in church singing.[60]

The agitation over reform in singing called forth official action from many churches. Farmington church recorded: "April 7, 1724. It was proposed whether they should continue the present way of singing or would admit of regular singing. May 9, 1724, voted, to take a year's time to consider whether regular singing should be tried or not. Voted, that if any person or persons shall presume to sing contrary to the lead of the chorister appointed by the church to the disturbance of the assembly, and the jarring of their melody, he or they shall be looked upon and dealt with as offenders. March 1726-7. Voted, that we do declare our full satisfaction with the former way of singing psalms in this society, and do earnestly desire to continue therein."[61] Thirty years later, in 1757, the church saw fit to reverse its action and introduced the singing of Dr. Watts' version of the psalms. Wallingford society, after considerable debate, decided to sing "half the time in the new way and half the time in the old for six Sabbaths and after that wholly in the new way."[62]

An incident illustrating the advent of the new type of hymn singing with notes occurred in Farmington in 1725. Joseph Hawley, who had been accustomed to what he termed the "old way" of psalm singing, could not follow the tune when two members who had gotten a new book attempted to lead the music. The chorister attempted to set "Bella tune," but the petitioner, thinking he had aimed at Cambridge short tune and set it wrongly, raised his voice and started to sing the latter tune, whereupon the people followed him, creating an "unhappy

[60] Hood, George: *A History of Music in New England*, p. 144.
[61] Quoted in Camp, David N.: *Hist. of New Britain*, p. 87.
[62] Quoted in Davis, C. H. S.: *Hist. of Wallingford*, p. 404.

discord." The blame was imputed to the petitioner. He was summoned and fined for breach of the Sabbath; whereupon the petitioner begged to be saved from the "imputation of heinous crime"! The Assembly granted the prayer of the petitioner.[63]

That there were some singing schools in the early days of Connecticut's settlement, is evident from Symmes' remarks: "The declining from, and getting beside the rule was gradual and insensible. Singing schools and singing books were laid aside, there was no way to learn."[64]

The great religious revivals of the late thirties and early forties were accompanied by the cultivation of singing, especially of hymns instead of psalms. Edwards remarked: "Our public praises were then greatly enlivened; God was then served in our psalmody, in some measure, in the beauty of holiness."[65]

English psalmody and poetry were much in need of the quickening element which only deep spirituality and vital personal religion could bring. Stopford A. Brooke said of this period: "The devotional element in our English poetry which belonged to Donne, Herbert, Vaughan, and some of the Puritan Poets died away in the critical school which began with Dryden and ended with Pope. The 'Religio-Laici' of Dryden is partly a reproduction of the scholastic theology, partly an attack on the Deists, and it does not contain one single touch of personal feeling towards God. The 'Essay on Man' is the preservation in exquisite steel-work of the speculations of Leibnitz and Bolingbroke. It is true the devoutness which belonged to Pope's

[63] MS. in the Conn. State Lib., Ecclesiastical, II, to 1727: Title, "Psalm Singing," 1725.

[64] Quoted from "Reasonableness of Regular Singing," p. 8, by Hood, George, in *A History of Music in New England,* p. 140.

[65] Edwards, Jonathan: *A Narrative of Many Surprising Conversions,* ed. 1832, p. 17. For the same reference see Edwards, Jonathan: *Works,* ed. 1881, III, p. 235.

nature modified the coldness of his philosophy, and there are lines in the Essay on Man which in their temperate but lofty speech concerning charity, are healthier than the whole of Cowper's Hymns, while the 'Universal Prayer' is that of noble tolerance and personal humility which, whether it be called deistical or not, belongs to the best religion all over the world."[66] In commenting on the enlivened public praises, to which Edwards also referred, he remarked: "What was the cause of this change, what new influence from without had come upon English poetry? It was the great religious movement, led by the Wesleys, joined afterwards by the fiery force of Whitfield, which descended through Newton to the hymns and poetry of Cowper. It was a preaching which, beginning in the year 1739, seven years after the first books of the Essay on Man appeared, woke up, and into fierce extremes, the religious heart of England. The vast crowds which on moor or hillside, in the deserted quarries of Devon and Cornwall, listened to Wesley, excited by their own numbers, almost maddened by his passionate preaching and prayer, lifted into Heaven and shaken over Hell in turns as the sermon went on, crying aloud, writhing on the ground, tears streaming down their cheeks, could not find in the hymns of Watts or the metrical Psalms any expression of their wild experience; and the inexpressible emotion of their hearts demanded voice for itself in poetry and in music, the two languages of emotion. Both the Wesleys, but chiefly Charles, had already, in 1738, seen and prepared for the want, and a new class of devotional poetry arose. It was impassioned, for its subject was the history of the heart in its long struggle with sin, in its wrestling with God, in the horror of its absence from Him, in its degradation, its redemption, and its glory, above all in its personal relation to Christ, and the world of feelings which arose from that relation; nor was there a single chord

[66] Brooke, Stopford A.: *Theology in The English Poets*, 2d ed., 1874, pp. 3-4.

of religious feeling left unsounded, nor any that was not strung to tension. It was also made especially personal. The first person was continually used, so that each who sung or read the hymn spoke of himself and felt Christ in contact with himself. And it was doctrinal, for whether it sprang from the party of Wesley or that of Whitfield, or from their subdivisions, it was built on clear lines of theological thought; and the opposition between the parties, who knew well the power of verse as a teacher and fixer of doctrine, caused the lines to be drawn with studious clearness."[67]

In 1770 William Billings brought out in Boston *The New England Psalm Singer,* which contained many patriotic pieces. This made his book a great favorite in the revolutionary period. He was the first colonial hymn writer to attempt to compose tunes. His animated melodies were much beloved by the New England soldiers.

In 1774 Samson Occom, the young Indian who had received a large part of his education in the home of Rev. Eleazer Wheelock, published a songbook entitled a *Choice Collection of Hymns and Spiritual Songs.* A second edition was printed at New London the following year. Occom was himself a hymn writer, but none of his own hymns appeared in this collection. One hymn by him, *The New Birth,* grew to be famous and was printed in several American hymn books.

In 1785 Joel Barlow of Hartford printed a songbook without tunes entitled *Doctor Watts' Imitation of the Psalms of David corrected and enlarged. To which is added a collection of Hymns; the whole applied to the state of the Christian Church in general.* Two years later in 1787 there appeared in England a selection by John Rippon. The first American edition published in New York in 1792 was entitled *A Selection of Hymns from the Best Authors, Intended to be an Appendix to Dr.*

[67] Brooke, Stopford A.: *Theology in The English Poets,* 2d ed., 1874, pp. 11-12.

Watts' Psalms and Hymns. By John Rippon A.M. This book contained 588 hymns.

The Bible, the New Testament, and the various catechisms continued to be the principal materials for religious education in the eighteenth century. Watts' catechism appears to have been the only attempt in this period to furnish suitable materials progressively arranged to meet the needs of advancing childhood. The vast majority of publications were stilted in style and distinctly theological. The whole outlook upon childhood was colored by the theology of the day, which looked upon early years not as an opportunity for gradual growth into the Christian life, but as a period to be gone through as soon as possible, looking forward to such time as the passive individual should be converted by the sovereign power of God and the grace of the Holy Spirit. The discouraging doctrines of partial atonement, that Christ died for only a part of the race and not for all, and of inability, that means of grace were of no avail in bringing about salvation, caused parents to be slack in the religious instruction of children who could of themselves do nothing to improve the chances of their soul's salvation.

Part III.

The Period 1798-1861

IX.

The Disestablishment of Congregationalism.

THE outstanding event in the religious life of Connecticut in the first two decades of the last century was the struggle which led to the disestablishment of Congregationalism by the Constitution of 1818. In Connecticut the strength of the resistance to the movement for religious toleration which was at work in all the colonies is accounted for by the town organization and the political constitution of the state. Upon petition of the inhabitants of a town, the General Court would grant permission to the town itself to embody into church estate. A homogeneous group were thus in control in the towns and offered the most stubborn sort of opposition to the infiltration of other groups. In many localities the records of the town and ecclesiastical society were kept together. In Durham it was not until November, 1804, that the town and the society were separated. The introduction of the vote recited, "Whereas the Town of Durham from its origin has been one Ecclesiastical society, and done their ministerial business in town meetings, till of late there has been a number of the inhabitants of said town certificated themselves to other denominations, whereby it becomes inconvenient to do said business in town meetings."[1] Only Virginia can approach Connecticut in its determined opposition to religious freedom. In Virginia, which stands at the opposite pole from Connecticut in the matter of church government, being a Church of England establishment, we have the same sort of compact, homogeneous group in control, which denied all privileges to other sects until forced to give them. The Connecticut town, practically coincident with the estab-

[1] Fowler, William Chauncey: *Hist. of Durham*, p. 78.

lished church parish, presented an organization of unique resisting power among the colonies.

The old order was passing. By the opening of the nineteenth century the union of church and state was no longer in a safe position. The rumblings of the opposition which the General Court was able to keep down in colonial days had now grown alarming to those who desired a maintenance of the *status quo*. The growth of infidelity, causing an indifference to religion in general and a desire to escape compulsory attendance and contributions to the established church, legislation favoring dissenters, the rise of other churches, and the formation and growth of the Democratic-Republican party were among the chief factors which contributed to the unpopularity and downfall of the established churches.

The growth of infidelity and of deism, due partly to the influence of the French Revolution and of continental writers such as Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot and others, affected the religious life of New England. Professor Chauncey Goodrich of Yale stated: "The infection of the French Revolution had spread across the Atlantic. The public mind had become more unsettled on religious subjects, than at any former period; and the young, especially, thought it a mark of spirit to call in question the peculiar doctrines of the gospel, if not the truth of Christianity itself."[2] At one time the Church of Christ in Yale College was reduced to four or five members.[3] The churches throughout the state suffered. During the years between 1783 and 1812 only three members were added to the church at Union, and from 1803 to 1813 the Lord's Supper was not administered.[4] Timothy Dwight, in commenting upon the infidelity of this period, remarked: "The influence of the

[2] Goodrich, Chauncey: "Revivals of Religion in Yale College," *Quarterly Register*, Feb., 1838, p. 294.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 294, note.

[4] Lawson, Rev. Harvey M.: *The History of Union*, p. 73.

French revolution which for a time threatened us with moral ruin, was to a great extent counteracted by the evils of the revolution itself; by the character of the men who successfully conducted it; and by the evils which flowed from it as consequences."[5] To check infidelity and deism, the Legislature in 1808 passed a statute in which atheists and deists were classed with felons.[6] No evidence appears that this law was enforced.

Legislation favoring toleration, passed because of the political importance and strength of the dissenters, hastened the disestablishment of the Congregational church. The act of 1784 freed citizens from paying taxes for the support of the established church, upon condition of placing a certificate of dissent in the hands of the clerk of the ecclesiastical society in which they had residence. If they did not do so, they were virtually held to be Congregationalists inasmuch as they were to be taxed for the support of the ministry and other charges in the society wherein they dwelt, although they might belong to some other denomination, or be infidels.[7] This increased the attendance and membership in dissenting churches. By the year 1818 Morse and Morse estimated that the Episcopalians had seventy-four congregations, the Baptists ninety, and the Methodists fifty-three. The Congregationalists he estimated at 213 congregations.[8]

The Episcopalians, following the Revolution, organized as the Protestant Episcopal Church in America. This did away with some of the antagonism against them, but they still met with much discomfort at the hands of Congregationalists. The

[5] Dwight: *Travels*, ed. 1822, IV, p. 383. For a review of infidelity during this period, see Dorchester, Daniel: *Christianity in the U. S. since the First Settlement*, 1888, pp. 313-324.

[6] *Laws of Conn.* (1808), p. 296.

[7] *Revision of Acts and Laws*, 1784, pp. 21-22.

[8] Morse and Morse: *The Travelers' Guide or Pocket Gazetteer*, New Haven, 1823, p. 91.

Episcopalians for the most part were Federalists. Although the Federalists, who were strongly Congregationalist, disliked the Episcopalians, they extended to them small favors in order to keep their support. In 1799 the Legislature gave them a charter for a bishop's fund which they were attempting to raise. Cheshire Academy was established in 1801. The *Connecticut Gazetteer* credits them with seventy-four religious societies in 1819.[9]

The Baptists, who had established themselves in Groton, Connecticut, as early as 1705, numbered 55 churches and 3,214 members by 1790. They suffered from the reaction against the excesses of revivalism, the Baptist clergy being largely untrained and more given to revivalism than the Congregationalists. From their first appearance in Connecticut, they were dissenters from the established Congregational church, and two prominent Baptist clergymen, Isaac Backus and John Leland, were leaders in the attack upon the union of church and state.

Isaac Backus published his *Appeal to the Public for Religious Liberty against the Oppressors of the present Day* in Boston in 1773. In this tract of sixty-two pages, he set forth the case against an established church, from the Baptist point of view. The Legislature claimed power to compel pedobaptist worship to be maintained in every town and parish, although infant baptism was never expressed in the Bible. The Legislature determined who should be the ministers and what their training should be. Though the Lord had ordained that they who preach the gospel should live by the gospel, yet the ministers of the land live by the law. "Now who can hear Christ declare, that

[9] *Conn. Gazetteer,* edited by Pease and Niles, 1819, p. 32. There were about 449 religious societies in the state in 1819: about 210 Congregationalists, 74 Episcopalians, 89 Baptists, 53 Methodists, 7 Separatists, 7 Friends, 2 Universalists, 2 Sandemanian, 1 of Shakers, 1 of Rogerene Quakers, and 3 of denominations not determined. Many were small and merely nominal. No Catholics are mentioned.

his kingdom is not of this world, and yet believe that this blending of church and state together can be pleasing to him."[10] Backus gives an account of numerous mortifications which Baptists were forced to bear at the hands of the Congregationalists, citing fines and imprisonments. Why, he argued, should the Legislature leave people free to choose their own lawyer and physician, and not oblige them to employ or pay one which the majority may prefer? Because, Backus opines, it is easier to impose upon people in regard to their souls than in regard to their bodies and temporal objects.[11]

In 1778 Backus brought out another pamphlet, *Government and Liberty Described: and Ecclesiastical Tyranny Exposed,* in which he insisted that true religion was a voluntary obedience unto God and pointed out that America was in arms against being taxed without being represented. "But it is no more certain, that we are not represented in the British parliament, than it is that our civil rulers are not our representatives in religious affairs, yet ministers have long prevailed with them to impose religious taxes, entirely out of their jurisdiction."[12]

The Methodists started their labors in Connecticut with Jesse Lee, an itinerant evangelist, in 1789, following the toleration act of 1784. Like the Baptists, they became dissenters, religiously and politically. Nathan Bangs pointed out that it was only natural for those who had suffered from sectarian bigotry to rejoice at the adoption of a constitution which guaranteed equal rights and privileges to all denominations. In this case the constitution referred to was the federal constitution of 1789. They were to prove themselves active in securing the constitution of 1818 for the state of Connecticut.[13] By the year

[10] Backus, Isaac: *An Appeal to the Public,* 1773, p. 19.

[11] *Ibid.,* p. 58.

[12] Backus, Isaac: *Government and Liberty Described: and Ecclesiastical Tyranny Exposed,* 1778, p. 11.

[13] Bangs, Nathan: *History of the Methodist Episcopal Church,* I, p. 288.

1819, Pease and Niles estimated the Methodists as having fifty-three religious societies.[14]

The Democratic-Republican party, the successor of the old Anti-Federal party, rose into prominence in Connecticut partly because it offered the members of the Baptist and Methodist churches, and later the Episcopal church, together with numbers of non-religious and dissenting folk, an opportunity to express their antagonism to the "Standing Order," as the union of the Congregational church and the existing government had become known. Their common grievances were, first, the laws of 1784 and 1791 forcing all dissenters to be "certificate men," which lowered their standing, and second, the payment of taxes for the support of the established church. The Federalist party aroused further opposition to itself and thereby helped to swell the ranks of the Republicans by the passage in 1801 of the objectionable "Stand-Up Law."[15] By this enactment a citizen was compelled to stand when voting, and thus reveal whether or not he was a dissenter. Objection was made that the law put dissenters at a disadvantage, as the vast majority at meetings where voting was carried on were Congregationalists.

The Connecticut Legislature, after the Revolutionary War, had adopted the Charter of 1662 as the constitution of the state.[16] This action preserved the union of the civil government and the Congregational church. Such an action could not long pass without protest. The Baptist clergyman, John Leland, attacked the government in a volume entitled *Rights of Conscience inalienable; therefore Religious Opinions cognizable by Law; or The High flying Churchman, stript of his legal Robe appears a yaho,* in 1791. This powerful book helped to raise the issue of the disestablishment of Congregationalism, which once raised was to continue until settled. Leland de-

[14] *Conn. Gazetteer,* 1819, p. 32.
[15] *Acts and Laws,* 1801, p. 567.
[16] *Revision of Acts and Laws,* 1784, p. 1.

nounced the charter of Charles II as not being a proper constitution, asserting that charter government was abrogated by the Declaration of Independence, and deplored the union of church and state, a condition found unnecessary for church support in other states.

In 1802, *The Connecticut Dissenters' Strong Box: No. 1, containing the High-flying Churchman stript of his robe,* etc., published by Leland, reprinted most of the material in *Rights of Conscience*. The author protested that "Religious right should be protected to *all* men, religious *opinion* to none. . . . And here lies the mischief of Connecticut religion. My lord, major vote, binds all the minor part, unless they submit to idolatry, i.e., pay an acknowledgment to a power that Jesus Christ never ordained in his Church; I mean produce a certificate. Yea, further, Jews, Turks, Heathens, Papists, and Deists, if such there are in Connecticut, are bound, and have no redress: and further, this bond is not annually given but for life, except the minister is dismissed by a number of others, who are in the same predicament with himself."[17]

After 1800 Connecticut had three schools of political thought: those who held firmly to the "Standing Order," greatly in the majority until about 1800; those who wished only an amendment of the charter government to give a more efficient judiciary, election procedure, and other governmental functions; and those who desired a constitutional convention. The Federalists, representing the aristocratic class and the established church, kept the question of a new constitution from becoming an important issue until the campaign of 1804, although dissatisfaction with the old charter government with legislative, judicial, and executive powers in one body was steadily increasing before that year.

The Republican principles by 1800 were not clearly defined.

[17] Leland, Rev. John: *Connecticut Dissenters' Strong Box,* p. 17.

They stood as "friends of liberty and the constitution," against the aristocratic Federalists, who claimed to be the friends of religion and of order. The fight for the severance of the union of church and state gave Republicanism the appearance of being an anti-clerical party. Hostility to the activity of the clergy in politics is disclosed in the toasts of the day, of which the following are typical: "Public Teachers of Religion—Those who preach for flock—not for the Fleece";[18] "The clergy—May they be taught to rely on the Olive Branch of the Cross: not on the Sword of the Crescent";[19] "Give the people more Bibles and let them buy their own pamphlets."[20]

Opposition rapidly increased against the "Standing Order" at the beginning of the century. The Republicans had a candidate for the governorship for the first time in 1801. The flame of political antagonism was fanned by the Republican paper, the Hartford *American Mercury,* and by the Federalist *Connecticut Courant*. The attack of Leland and other political writers and speakers aroused the "Standing Order" to its own defense. Zephaniah Swift, a prominent legalist, had used the *Phenix or Windham Herald* during the last decade of the eighteenth century to strike at the union of church and state. Abraham Bishop, whose invitation to give the Phi Beta Kappa address at Yale College had been withdrawn because of his Republican affiliations, delivered an address entitled "The Extent and Power of Political Delusions" on the evening preceding the Yale College commencement in September, 1800. He spoke in the parlors of the White Haven Church to many who would otherwise have attended the meeting at the College. His speech was a thoroughgoing political campaign document for Republicanism and a severance of church and state. Noah Webster replied by a caustic pamphlet entitled *A Rod for the*

[18] *American Mercury,* July 15, 1802.
[19] *Ibid.,* July 22, 1802.
[20] *Ibid.,* July 30, 1807.

Fool's Back. David Daggett in the same year took up his pen in counter-attack upon the Republicans, under the name of "Connecticutensis" and published *Three Letters to Abraham Bishop, Esquire, containing some strictures on his Oration, pronounced in the White Meeting House, On The Evening preceeding the Public Commencement*. On March 11 of the following year Abraham Bishop delivered an oration at Wallingford at the general thanksgiving, for the election of Jefferson and Burr, which was a direct onslaught against the "Standing Order." Leland in the same year denounced the Congregationalist Federals in *A blow at the Root being a Fashionable Fast-Day Sermon*, delivered at Cheshire, Massachusetts, on April 9, 1801. In this he pointed out that the Baptists had chiefly "borne the lash, for no other society has arisen to any considerable importance" for forty years past. The great cause of complaint was the system which compelled all to contribute to the support of the preacher whom the majority of the town should choose and which by the same provision made all contribute for the erection and repair of meetinghouses. He emphasized that "He must be a poor logician who does not trace this oppression back to its origin, to that rotten nest-egg which is always hatching vipers: I mean the principle of intruding the laws of man into the kingdom of Christ, which kingdom is not of this world."[21] This pamphlet was printed at New London and augmented the agitation for the dissolution of the union of church and state in Connecticut. Leland issued another work in 1803, entitled *Van Tromp lowering his Peak with a Broadside, containing a plea for the Baptists of Connecticut*. In this volume he indicated that since the War for Independence thirteen states had granted religious liberty, and insisted that Connecticut should do likewise. In a *Republican Address To the Free Men of Connecticut*, dated August 30, 1803, published

[21] Leland, John: *A blow at the Root*, 1801, p. 12.

by order of the General Committee and signed by Levi Ives, junior clerk, the Federalists were scored for making use of the clergy for their own ends and depriving the people of their liberties. "Religion!! Yes, this is the religion of which Republicans are destitute. Entering no projects of oppression against their fellow citizens, but aiming by the simplest plainest means to accomplish their greatest good, they have no need to offer bribes to a priesthood."[22] The Republicans held it tyrannical for the government to interfere in matters of religion. Far from being hostile to religion, they claimed to be the friends of true religion and of real piety. Under the name of "Simon Hold-Fast" David Daggett came forward again in the year 1803 with a pamphlet entitled *Facts are Stubborn Things, or Nine Plain Questions to the People of Connecticut with a brief reply to each.* John Strong of Norwich added another controversial medium to those already in existence by founding the *True Republican* in 1804.

Abraham Bishop contributed to the fight for a new constitution by an address delivered in Hartford on May 11, 1804, entitled *An Oration in Honor of the Election of President Jefferson and the peaceful acquisition of Louisiana.* Bishop stated: "For a remedy of all these ends in our State Government, we propose that the people shall be convened to form a constitution which shall separate the legislative, executive and judicial power,—shall define the qualification of freemen so that legislator shall not tamper with election laws, and shall district the state so that freemen may judge of the candidates for their suffrage."[23] He concluded the pamphlet with a ringing paragraph: "And let the question be decided, whether Moses and Aaron shall, by clinging any longer together, continue to deprive thousands of their rights, to bid defiance to the general government, to sink religion below the freezing

[22] *Republican Address,* 1803, p. 14.

[23] Bishop, Abraham: *Oration in Honor of the Election of Jefferson,* p. 16.

point, to make professions instead of morals a tendry, and send the principles of civil and religious liberty abroad to seek some new revolution, of which they shall be the victims."[24] Bishop deserves the credit for making a new constitution a political issue. The Federalists were put on the defensive, with dissenters of every sort rallying to the attack. In the same year, Bishop published his *Proofs of a Conspiracy against Christianity and the Government of the United States,* being a lengthy treatise against the Federalists and in support of Republicanism.

The Republicans, in spite of their vigorous onslaught upon the Federalists, lost the fall election of 1804. The people at large were not ready for a new constitution. The battle for such a change was waged by Bishop and the Republicans against David Daggett, Professor Silliman of Yale, Simeon Baldwin, Noah Webster, and such church leaders as President Dwight of Yale, Simon Backus, Isaac Lewis, and John Evans. The clergy of the established church actively campaigned in the interests of the *status quo*. Simon Backus wrote a thirty-four-page pamphlet in 1804, entitled *A Dissertation on the Right and Obligation of the Civil Magistrate to Take Care of the Interest of Religion; and Provide for its Support*, in which he set forth that inasmuch as religion had a salutary influence upon mankind and tended to prevent vice and crime, it was an interest of civil government.

David Daggett in 1804, writing under the name of "Jonathan Steadfast," published a pamphlet in behalf of the union of church and state entitled *Count the Cost, An Address to the People of Connecticut on Sundry Political Subjects, and Particularly on the Prosecution For a New Constitution.*

The battle between the "Standing Order" and the Republicans was waged through the press and upon the platform. Numerous broadsides and pamphlets were published, fraught

[24] Bishop, Abraham: *Oration in Honor of the Election of Jefferson*, p. 24.

with vituperations and recriminations of the most personal character. National and state issues were both involved in the political contests. The Federalists in seeking to check infidelity succeeded in arraying against themselves not only people of denominations other than the established Congregational Church, but also many liberals, freethinkers, and people of no particular religious faith. The *Public Statute Laws* of 1808 included a provision which had been in force since 1750:

That if any person within this state, shall presume wilfully to blaspheme the name of God the Father, Son, or Holy Ghost, either by denying, cursing, or reproaching the true God or his government of the world; every person so offending shall be punished by whipping on the naked body, not exceeding forty stripes, and sitting in the pillory one hour; and may also be bound to his good behaviour, at the discretion of the superior court who shall have cognizance of the offence.

And be it further enacted, That if any person within this state, having been educated in, or having made profession of the Christian religion, shall by writing, printing, teaching, or advised speaking, deny the being of a God; or any one of the persons in the Holy Trinity to be God; or shall assert and maintain that there are more Gods than one; or shall deny the Christian religion to be true, or the holy scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be of divine authority, and be thereof lawfully convicted before any of the superior courts of this state, shall for the first offence, be incapable to have or enjoy any offices or employments, ecclesiastical, civil or military, or any part in them, or profit by them: And the offices, places, and employments enjoyed by such persons at their conviction, shall be void.

And such person being a second time convicted of any of the aforesaid crimes, shall be disabled to sue, prosecute, plead, or maintain any action or information in law or equity; or be guardian of any child, or executor of any will, or administrator of any estate.[25]

[25] *Public Statute Laws of the State of Conn.*, I, 1808, pp. 295-296. A footnote states "These sections first appeared in the statute-book revised and printed in 1750. We have searched in vain for an earlier date." Excellent

The severity of such a statute indicates the strength of the religious tradition in Connecticut.

The growth of Republicanism was slow, due to the strength of the Federalists. In the words of the *American Mercury:* "The friends of the general government are apt to ask, why republicanism does not prevail in Connecticut? The reply is easy—the enemies of the general government are in possession of all the strongholds."[26] Nearly all state officers, assistants, and assemblymen were Federalists, as well as the vast majority of judges, justices of the peace, and school directors, constituting a body of about eleven hundred office holders, representing the entrenched strength of the Federalists.[27] The whole weight of Congregationalism was against Republicanism and any change in the existing government. The *American Mercury* previously asserted, in denouncing the Federalists: "Another of these steady habits is, their calling all the Priests of the state together at each commencement of Yale College, to eat and drink at the scholars' expense; also to assemble the Priests at each election of Governor at Hartford, to eat and drink at the State's expense—where a gracious sermon is delivered, in which the Governor and the Legislature are addressed and flattered in turn. The Governor, be he whom he will, or be his character what it will, is flattered to a degree that borders on profanation. Each priest vies with the other who shall excell in the work of flattery."[28]

The Episcopalians after 1810 formed an uncertain element in the ranks of the Federalists. The latter refused in 1892, in

accounts of this contest leading to the Republican victory in 1818 are contained in Purcell, R. J.: *Connecticut in Transition,* 1918, and in Greene, M. Louise: *The Development of Religious Liberty in Connecticut,* 1905.

[26] *American Mercury,* Feb. 20, 1806.

[27] For an account of the strength of the Federalist organization, see *American Mercury,* Jan. 29, 1801; April 8, 1802; Feb. 20, March 20, 1806; June 30, July 7, Aug. 4, 1808.

[28] *American Mercury,* Jan. 29, 1801.

1804, in 1810, and in 1812, to grant a college charter to the Academy established in 1801 at Cheshire. The Episcopalians still remained in the Federalist party, until displeased by the partisan and arbitrary action of the Legislature in 1814 and 1815, in favoring the Medical Institution of New Haven, but failing to give a grant to the Bishop's Fund as a part of the transaction in establishing the Phoenix Bank of Hartford. The Episcopalians were so incensed that large numbers joined the Democratic-Republican ranks.

The extent to which the clergy of the Congregational church entered into politics is disclosed by Lyman Beecher's description of a meeting in Judge Baldwin's office to discuss the establishment of a society for "the Suppression of Vice and Promotion of Good Morals." Beecher stated: "That was a new thing in that day for the clergy and laymen to meet on the same level and coöperate. . . . The ministers had always managed things themselves, for in those days the ministers were all politicians. They had always been used to it from the beginning. On election day they had a festival. All the clergy used to go, walk in procession, smoke pipes, and drink. And, fact is, when they got together, they would talk over who should be governor, and who lieutenant governor, and who in the upper house, and their counsels would prevail."[29]

The strength of the Democratic-Republican party was to be further augmented by the indiscretions of the Federalists themselves. New England Federalists had become generally dissatisfied with the national government by 1814. The doubtful outcome of the war by land, the lack of the means of defense in which the eastern states found themselves, the financial difficulties due to the requisitions of the national government for the war, and the authority exercised by the national government over the state militia, the proposed increase of the national

[29] Beecher, Charles: *Autobiography and Correspondence of Lyman Beecher*, I, p. 259.

army by conscription or draft, the proposed form for the impressment of seamen, the bill allowing army officers to enlist as apprentices men who were over eighteen years of age without parental consent, and the alleged purpose of the national government to achieve the conquest of Canadian territory, all created distrust and criticism of the government at Washington.

A convention was called by the Massachusetts Legislature, at Hartford, in 1814, in order to prevent extreme action by some states and to concentrate public opinion. Official delegates came from Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, and from some counties in New Hampshire and Vermont. The Convention met on December 15, and continued in conference for a period of three weeks.[30] It was soon looked upon with suspicion, inasmuch as it was antagonistic to the federal government and was located in a region which had never been enthusiastic in regard to a close union between the states. The *Journal* of the Convention was published in 1815 in order to allay criticism. "The report," said Theodore Dwight, "dignified, able, and unobjectionable, as it was so generally acknowledged to be, had no efficacy in shielding the states from the most opprobrious charges, and the Convention from the foulest reproaches."[31] The published proceedings contained little of a disloyal nature, except the resolution of the Convention that each state should take measures to protect itself against a draft by the federal government. Accredited representatives were sent to Washington to lay some conclusions before the government, but never delivered the same because of the general rejoicing over the successful close of the war.

The Convention was a fatal enterprise for the Federalists as far as Connecticut was concerned, and the Connecticut clergy, so closely connected with that party, shared in its un-

[30] Dwight, Theodore: *Hist. of the Hartford Convention*, 1833, see especially pp. 356-366.

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 381.

popularity. A bad reputation clung to the Convention and its members even after the publication of the *Otis Letters in Defence of The Hartford Convention* in 1824 and of a *History of the Hartford Convention,* in 1833, by Theodore Dwight, its secretary.

After the elections of 1816, the Federalists realized that they must use all conciliatory measures if they were to retain the ascendency. Consequently they passed an act in April, 1816, repealing the fine for absence from church on the Sabbath. Connecticut people could now worship when and where they chose, although they were still compelled to support the established church. In October of the same year "An Act for the Support of Literature and Religion" was passed, which divided among the various denominations the balance due to Connecticut for expenses of the war; of this the Congregationalists received one-third, Yale one-seventh, the Episcopalians one-seventh, the Baptists one-eighth, the Methodists one-twelfth, and the state treasury the balance.[32]

Far from satisfying the dissenters, the act for "the Support of Literature and Religion" raised a storm of protest and hastened the overthrow of the established order.[33] The *Mercury* on November 12, 1816, stated: "It is no difficult matter to account for the existence of this law. 'The cloven foot' is seen and will be seen, whatever pains may be taken to conceal it. If to preserve a party, it be necessary to buy votes, or to resort to a temporizing system, it is proof conclusive that the party is in the last stages of consumption, and that this kind of nursing is not intended to effect a cure, but to prolong its life."

Numerous political broadsides were published upon the subject. One by "Barnabas Homespun," undated, but from its tenor probably issued in 1817, denounced the Democrats for being willing to have the Assembly give $20,000 to the Method-

[32] *Acts and Laws,* pp. 279-280.
[33] *American Mercury,* Nov. 12, 19, 1816.

ists, Baptists, and other sects, calling it a bribe for votes. Opinion on the matter was not unanimous, however, for an Episcopalian, Andrew Beers of Danbury, in a broadside published on April 2, 1817, urged the people of that denomination to accept the money given them. He sought to placate those who might have been irritated because of the Assembly's refusal to give the Episcopalians the Phoenix bank bonus by saying that it was a question upon which honest and liberal-minded men differed. Above all, Beers urged that no union should be effected with the Democrats. "Are you willing," he asked, "to cast your lot with that party? to entrust the keeping of your dearest interests to men, who so lately hated, and openly reviled you, and who at this moment, secretly detest both you and the religion which you profess? Every argument is opposed to your taking such a step. Your security and prosperity as a Church loudly forbid it. Your character as Federalists, and your respectability as men are inconsistent with it." In spite of this and other exhortations, numbers of Episcopalians were leaving the Federalists and joining forces with those who were contending for a new constitution.[34]

Those working for reform in the state saw that a union of forces was necessary for success. A meeting of representative Republicans and Episcopalians was held on February 21, 1816, at New Haven.[35] Oliver Wolcott and Jonathan Trumbull were selected to run for governor and lieutenant governor, upon a platform calling for ecclesiastical reform.[36] This ticket became known as the "American Ticket" or the "American Toleration and Reform Ticket."

The *Mercury* asserted: "The ruling party insists, that one

[34] For an elaborate list of the political publications during this period of struggle for a new constitution, see Welles, L. A.: List of some Connecticut Political Tracts, 1689-1819, MS. copy in Yale Library.

[35] *American Mercury*, Feb. 27, 1816.

[36] *Ibid.*, March 5, 1816.

particular denomination of Christians ought, by the aid of human laws, to be endowed with peculiar rights and privileges; that other sects may be tolerated, indeed, but that the adherents of the other sects shall pay taxes to the privileged order, till they shall have, in a manner pointed out by law, made public declaration to what other denomination they choose to belong, or have obtained permission, that their taxes shall be appropriated to the support of their own denomination. Republicans contend, that such laws have a strong tendency to produce an unnatural and adulterous connection between church and state."[37] Wolcott was elected governor and the disestablishment of Congregationalism was only a matter of months.

Beecher describes the opposition to the "Standing Order" as a gathering of all disaffected elements. "So the democracy, as it rose, included nearly all the minor sects, besides the Sabbath-breakers, rum-selling tippling folk, infidels, and ruff scuff generally, and made a dead set at us of the standing order."[38] When the Episcopalians, because of their disappointment regarding the appropriation for the Bishop's Fund, switched to the Democratic-Republican ranks, Beecher stated: "That overset us. They slung us out like a stone from a sling."[39]

In October, 1817, at the close of the session of the state Legislature, the majority party suggested a constitutional convention.[40] The Toleration party now became the "Constitution and Reform" party. The suggestion was adopted by various towns, which gave their representatives appropriate directions to procure a recommendation to the people to choose delegates for a constitutional convention. The new party went to the freemen on the clean-cut issue of a new constitution.

[37] *American Mercury,* March 5, 1816.

[38] Beecher, Charles: *Autiobiography and Correspondence of Lyman Beecher,* I, p. 342.

[39] *Ibid.,* I, p. 343.

[40] *Conn. Courant,* Oct. 28, 1817.

The "Constitution and Reform" party swept the state in the election of 1818. Steps were immediately taken to call a convention and construct a new constitution.

Full religious liberty, a complete severance of church and state, was brought about by the new constitution of 1818. It guaranteed that "The exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination, shall forever be free to all persons in this state."[41] It further provided that "No preference shall be given by law to any Christian sect or mode of worship."[42]

The Congregationalists were completely disestablished. All religious bodies were upon an equality and were dependent upon voluntary support.

[41] Constitution of 1818, Article I, Sec. 3.
[42] *Ibid.*, Sec. 4.

X.

The Development of Common Schools—Legislation.

THE religious purpose of education, as manifested in the legislation of colonial days, was not abrogated by the events of the Revolutionary War. There was no sudden change from religious to non-religious education. The type of education in which the Puritan ideal dominated, which was intended to convey a knowledge of the Christian religion and the way of salvation, was slow to give way to the type which grew to be almost universal in the United States after 1800, when the inculcation of character and knowledge in a broad, unsectarian sense came to be the educational ideal.

One of the last enactments of Connecticut relative to religious education was passed in the Revision of 1808, which was a reënactment of the provision regarding the education of children which had persisted from the Code of 1650: "All parents and masters should teach their children according to their ability, to read the English tongue well, and to know the laws against capital offenses; and if unable to do so much, then at least to learn some short orthodox catechism without book, so as to be able to answer to the questions that shall be propounded to them out of such catechism by their parents, masters, or ministers, when they shall call them to an account of what they have learned of that kind."[1] The Constitution of 1818, drawn up after the defeat of the Federalists and the Congregationalists, provided, in order that the education of children should be free from all sectarian influence, that "the fund called the school fund shall remain a perpetual fund, the interest of which shall be inviolably appropriated to the support and encouragement of

[1] *Laws of Conn.*, 1808, Title XXXIII, p. 123.

the public or common schools, throughout the state, and for the equal benefit of all the people thereof. The value and amount of said fund shall be as soon as practicable ascertained in such manner as the General Assembly may prescribe, published, and recorded in the controller's office; and no law shall ever be made, authorizing said fund to be diverted to any other use than the encouragement and support of public or common schools, among the several school societies as justice and equity shall require."[2]

The severance of the union of church and state made by the Constitution of 1818 undoubtedly had an effect upon the revision of 1821, which omits all reference to a "short orthodox catechism" or other religious provisions. The law provided "That all parents, and those who have the care of children, shall bring them up in some honest and lawful calling or employment; and shall teach and instruct them, or cause them to be taught or instructed, to read, write, and cypher as far as the first four rules of arithmetic."[3] No mention is made of any catechism or religious instruction whatever. Once omitted from the statutes, the clauses relative to religious education were not to return.[4]

By the law of 1821 all provisions imposing obligations upon societies to raise either a state, town, or society tax ceased. Barnard called this law the "most disastrous enactment ever placed upon our statute book."[5] Prior to this, the property of the whole community was held responsible for the education of the youth. The practical operation of the law of 1798, under which each school society could subdivide into school districts, multiplied the number of corporate bodies and officers beyond the needs and convenience of the inhabitants. Barnard was of the opinion that all that was done by the 145 towns, the 217

[2] Art. VIII, Sec. 2.

[3] *Statutes of Conn.*, Revision of 1821, Title 14, p. 107.

[4] See *Revised Statutes of Conn.*, 1849, p. 277; *Statutes of Conn.*, 1854, p. 383.

[5] Barnard, Henry: *Fifth Ann. Rep. of Supt. of Com. Sch. of Conn.*, 1850, p. 41.

societies, and the 1,650 districts, requiring upwards of 2,000 district meetings annually, could be better done at the regular or at a special meeting of the inhabitants of the several towns. School finances could be more promptly and economically handled by the town officers, thereby doing away with the appointment of not less than 3,000 officers for this purpose. The same argument for efficiency could be applied to the general supervision of all matters relating to schoolhouses, the examination and employment of teachers, the regulation of studies and books, and the classification of schools and scholars. The appointment of a school committee for each town would have dispensed with the committee work of at least 4,000 persons who accepted their offices with reluctance and who discharged their duties in a faulty manner.[6] It was Barnard's opinion that the state of things would have been far different if the entire management of schools devolved on the towns and questions affecting their improvement could come up for discussion at town meetings.[7]

Sweeping changes in the supervision of common schools were wrought by an act of 1838. Largely through the efforts of Henry Barnard, the Assembly of 1837 passed a resolution authorizing a survey of conditions existing in the common schools throughout the state. The legislation of 1838 was based upon this information. The act provided for the creation of a Board of Commissioners for Common Schools. Better supervision of the schools was sought by bringing their condition to the attention of parents and local school officers by means of a register to be kept by the teacher and by annual reports before school societies, in reports of school visitors, and in the placing of information before the Legislature and the state in the report of the secretary of the Board of Commissioners of Common Schools. Pursuant to this legislation, the *Connecticut Common School*

[6] Barnard, Henry: *Fifth Ann. Rep. of Supt. of Com. Sch. of Conn.*, 1850, p. 44.

[7] *Ibid.*, 1850, p. 45.

Journal was established in the same year. This important legislation was followed by a movement for the improvement of common schools.[8]

Connecticut passed no law directly prohibiting religious instruction, nor did it directly prohibit the use of sectarian textbooks. Many states about 1850 became negative and prohibitory in regard to religion.[9] The purposes in establishing schools were no longer stated to be for the raising up of leaders "in church and civil state," the provision for a "learned and orthodox ministry," or to advance the "principles of the Christian religion." Civic righteousness, character, knowledge, and pro-

[8] *Revised Statutes*, 1838, Title LXXXVIII, Ch. IV, Sec. 1, p. 536.

[9] Some jurisdictions have constitutional provisions against the use of public funds for supporting religious or sectarian institutions, or against the giving of religious or sectarian instruction in the public schools (O'Connor vs. Hendrick, 100 N. Y. App. Div. 361). It has been held that public moneys cannot be employed for such a purpose, even in the presence of a constitutional provision to that effect (Millard vs. The Board of Education, 121 Ill. 207). The authorities are not uniform as to what constitutes religious or sectarian instruction within the meaning of such prohibition. Wearing a distinctive garb of a religious society was held not to be sectarian (Hysong vs. Gallitzin School District, 164 Pa. St. 629). However, in most jurisdictions it has been held that the reading of the Bible, or parts thereof, without comment or remark, the repetition of prayers and religious songs in the public schools, which exercises may not be attended or participated in by the individual pupils whose parents or guardians object thereto, is not a violation of a constitutional provision against the giving of religious or sectarian instruction (Billard vs. Topeka Board of Education, 69 Kans. 53); or of a provision that no person shall be compelled to attend or contribute to the support of any place of worship or minister of religion (Moore vs. Monroe, 64 Iowa 367); or of a provision against using public moneys in support of any sectarian school (Pfeiffer vs. Detroit Board of Education, 118 Mich. 560). Where, however, such use of the Bible is abused so as to amount to sectarian instruction, the courts may intervene to enjoin it (State vs. Scheve, 65 Nebr. 853). It has been held that the resolution of the School Board prohibiting the reading of the Bible and prayer and other religious instruction in the school is final and cannot be reviewed by the courts (New Antioch Board of Education vs. Pulse, 10 Ohio S. & C. Pl., Dec. 17, '17). In most jurisdictions it is generally held, or provided by statute, that the school authorities cannot authorize and may prohibit a public school building being used for sectarian or religious purposes (Schofield vs. the 8th School District, 27 Conn. 499). For a general discussion, see 35 Cyc. 1126-1127. See also for a discussion of recent developments *The Literary Digest*, Sept. 15, 1923.

fessional, industrial, and agricultural skill were exalted instead. Some states sought to rid themselves of sectarian influence by passing laws forbidding the establishment of religious tests to determine the qualifications of members of boards of trustees, teachers, and other school officers. Connecticut did not find it necessary to enact such a statute. The Constitution of 1818 prevented any but public or common schools from benefiting by the School Fund.

The attitude of the Connecticut courts toward the use of public school buildings for religious services, is brought out in a dictum in Sheldon et al. vs. The Centre School District (1856)[10] and in the decision in Scofield vs. The Eighth School District, October Term (1858).[11] The dictum in the former case was to the effect that a school district had no power to levy a tax for the purpose of building a meetinghouse, yet the court acknowledged that a practice to some extent prevailed in many country districts of holding religious meetings in the evenings and occasionally on the Sabbath in schoolhouses. The court was of the opinion that so long as there was no interference with the legitimate purposes of the school, nor prejudice to the interests of the inhabitants of the district, no court would hold that a vote of a district, directing a suitable and proper schoolhouse to be built, would be void merely because the district authorized religious meetings to be held in the evenings.

In the case of Scofield vs. The Eighth School District, a divided court held that the inhabitants of a school district have no right to use the schoolhouses of the district for religious meetings and Sunday schools, against the objection by any taxpayer of the district, even though the district may have voted to allow such use. An injunction was made permanent against such

[10] 27 Conn. 499.

[11] 25 Conn. 224, especially 228.

use on the application of a taxpayer, although the injury to him was of necessity very slight. There is no other remedy for an objecting taxpayer.

The underlying theory for granting such an injunction to religious uses of the schoolhouse is brought out in the reasoning of the court. The court held, in the first place, that the statutes created a class of involuntary corporators, and abridged their rights both as to persons and property (Pub. Acts, 1856, pp. 46, 49, 58). So far as those rights are thus affected, these statutes therefore should be construed strictly, and, for the same reason, and to the same extent, the general law of corporations should be rigidly enforced in its application to school districts. Secondly, the court held that the schoolhouse was corporate property. Fundamental among these rules and restraints is the following—that a corporation possesses only the properties which the charter of its creation expressly confers upon it, or such as are incidental to its very existence (Marshall, C. J., in Dartmouth College vs. Woodward, 4 Wheat. 636). The sole object for which school districts are created is education. The respondents had determined to apply the corporate property to the support of religion. Thirdly, the court held that where a corporation is about to exceed its powers, and apply the common property to objects beyond its authority, a court of equity will grant relief by injunction. The cases proceed upon the idea that the corporator is a *cestui qui* trust. The court felt that there was still greater necessity for the application of the remedy in favor of an involuntary corporator. It should be noted that school buildings were constantly used for religious purposes, however. Bethany voted on April 9, 1832, that religious denominations be allowed to use the schoolhouses, provided that their meetings did not interfere with school.[12] The reasons which the Connecticut court gave for its

[12] Sharpe, W. C.: *Bethany Sketches and Records*, p. 108.

decision are those which have controlled courts generally in the adjudication of similar issues.

School societies were proving inadequate as units of school administration. Henry Barnard, in his first report in 1839, said in commenting upon the organization of the school system: "I cannot but look upon the severance of the school interest from all other municipal and religious interests of society, as one of manifest disadvantage. It has led, in part, to that wide-spread apathy which prevails in regard to the condition and prospects of common schools."[13] He remarked upon the matter in his reports of 1840,[14] 1841,[15] and 1842.[16] A Joint Standing Committee on Education in 1847 recommended, in a plan for improving the common schools, that school societies be abolished and that towns occupy the place of societies in regard to all school matters.[17]

Barnard stated in his report for 1850: "Every departure from the original territorial organization [the town system] of our school system . . . has, in my opinion, weakened the efficiency of its administration, and proved a hindrance to the progressive improvement of the schools, both in quantity and quality of education given in them."[18] The matter is again urged by Barnard in his report for 1851.[19] A convention of school visitors and friends of education in Tolland County, held at South Coventry on May 14, 1851, presented a petition to the Legislature signed by one hundred and seventy-three individuals, setting forth the evils of the school society system as they then existed. A recapitulation of the reasons for restoring the town organization was printed in a circular to school

[13] *Rep. Board of Com. Sch.*, 1839, p. 14.
[14] *Ibid.*, 1840, p. 13.
[15] *Ibid.*, 1841, p. 11.
[16] *Ibid.*, 1842, p. 31.
[17] *Ann. Rep. Supt. Com. Sch.*, 1847, p. 27.
[18] *Ann. Rep. Supt. of Com. Sch.*, 1850, p. 42.
[19] *Ibid.*, 1851, p. 45.

visitors respecting changes proposed in the revision of the school laws in 1856. The reasons given for a change were:

1. It is a fact that under the town system, up to 1798, the schools improved: subsequently to that time they deteriorated.
2. The town system in other states works better than the society system in ours.
3. The society system dissevers school interests from all the other interests of the community.
4. Owing to the trouble of assessing and collecting a tax solely for school purposes, property tax for schools has been abandoned in nearly all the societies, whereas under the Town System the practice was universal.
5. The society system causes a needless complexity in the administration of our school affairs.
6. This system multiplies the number of corporate bodies and officers much beyond the demands or convenience of the people.
7. It divides and weakens the responsibility of supporting and superintending schools.
8. The thin attendance at society meetings, and the consequent impossibility of reaching the masses of the people by local reports and discussions on the subject of common schools.
9. The present complete organization of districts does away with the necessity for the school society.

Objections to the plan were summarized as follows:

1. The danger of subjecting educational affairs to the disturbing influence of party politics.
2. The duty of making provision for the safety and equitable application of society funds.
3. The difficulty of providing for districts which embrace a part of two or more towns.[20]

The movement for a return to town control of schools carried the day and the Legislature of 1856, in an act "Providing for

[20] *Rep. Supt. of Com. Sch.*, 1856, pp. 92-93.

the transfer to Towns of the Duties and Powers of School Societies with regard to Schools," enacted that: "It shall be the duty of the several towns within this State to provide for the support of common schools within their respective limits. Sect. 2. The School districts now established by law shall become and remain school districts of the towns within which they are situated, subject to certain limitations and exceptions hereinafter mentioned." This law made the towns responsible for maintaining schools.[21] It put the control of the common schools where it had been originally, before the law of 1712 giving school control to the parishes. The law of 1798 turning over the control of the ecclesiastical societies to the school societies was abrogated by the law of 1856. This was a measure of centralization as compared with the acts of 1712 and 1798, which gave jurisdiction over schools to smaller units within the towns. Schools were not yet free, but we have in Connecticut in the last half of the fifties a common school system with the town as the administrative unit, carrying on a non-religious type of instruction, training for citizenship and knowledge rather than for the church and religion.

[21] *Public Acts passed by the General Assembly of the State of Conn.*, 1856, p. 39.

XI.

The Development of Common Schools—Growth and Conditions.

CONNECTICUT common schools won their way with difficulty. After the passage of the school laws of 1795 and 1798, they were wholly detached from both municipal and ecclesiastical interests and were compelled to make their way among a people for the greater part indifferent to common school education.

School societies, by the laws of 1795 and 1798, were given all necessary powers in regard to school taxation and regulation, including the erection and upkeep of buildings. The school society in reality became a channel of communication for the Commissioner of the School Fund and maintained a loose system of supervision. The real direction of the schools became vested in the subdivisions of the school societies, the school districts, which eventually came to have the control. The tendency was to divide the units of control, a procedure generally bought at the price of a small and inconvenient schoolhouse, a short school term, and a cheap and poorly fitted teacher. Bethany voted on April 9, 1819, "that the community procure a teacher for the ensuing summer, to begin on the first Tuesday in May and continue five months or longer if wanted. October 27, 1820,—Voted the committee pay eight dollars per month for the ensuing winter. November 4, 1822,—Voted to have the school commence the first Monday in December and continue to the first of March."[1] Henry Barnard reported in 1839 that he had found some of the best schools within the state ruined by division of the districts.[2] Another evil attendant upon the

[1] Sharpe, W. C.: *Bethany Sketches and Records*, p. 108.
[2] *First Ann. Rep. Board of Com. for Com. Sch.*, 1839, p. 27.

subdivision of the societies was that of having too many pupils, of every age and in every degree of proficiency, crowded into the same room. In such a situation, a large part of a teacher's time was expended in maintaining order alone.[3]

In treating the growth and conditions of the Connecticut common schools in this era, the writer has pursued a definitely chronological method. Several outstanding papers and discussions of the situation in the schools are examined in order. From these notable contributions to the educational literature of Connecticut, we are able to construct a picture of the conditions in the common schools during the first half of the last century.

A "School Visitor" in 1825 ran a series of articles in the *Connecticut Observer* upon the state of the common schools. The author scored the idea that public and ample funds could insure good instruction. He grouped the defects of the common schools under the two heads, (1) organization and management, and (2) instruction.

In regard to the defects in organization, the writer asserted that tardiness and irregularity were common.[4] Recreation periods were portrayed as seasons of license with no control. The noon hour was described as even worse. "The vulgarity and obscenity of the district is brought to a common focus, and displays itself to the observation and imitation of the younger scholars." In order to prevent moral contagion of the worse sort, the author urged that children should never be left alone after they had assembled at the schoolhouse.[5]

Another defect in management pointed out was the want of system and uniformity in the employment and exercises of the scholars. A considerable portion of the time was wholly unoccupied with any of the appropriate business of the school. Too

[3] *First Ann. Rep. Board of Com. for Com. Sch.*, 1839, p. 27.
[4] *Conn. Observer*, Jan. 25, 1825.
[5] *Ibid.*, Feb. 8, 1825.

great a diversity of studies, coupled with a number of unlike texts, was a matter of complaint: "Hardly any two of them possess a book by the same author. Here is a class of children that wish to study Geography. One of them has Willet's, another has Cumming's, another Woodbridge's, another Morse's." These irregularities were aggravated by the deficiency of books of any sort. Added to these defects, the teacher was wont to make his work monotonous and lose the interest of the pupils.[6]

In regard to defects in instruction, the "School Visitor" complained of poor reading, disregard of pauses, inattention to tones, modulations, and inflections to such a degree as to "annihilate the sentiment of the writer." He also found the children ignorant regarding the definition of terms and words.[7]

Prayer by the teacher, at the opening and closing of school, the "Visitor" found to be almost wholly neglected by the great body of school teachers. In many schools there was no appearance of moral and religious instruction. In others, some form of catechism was repeated occasionally by the scholars, and the New Testament was read only as a reading lesson, unattended by instruction or application.

In answer to the possible objection that the family and the church, rather than the school, were the places for children to receive religious instruction, the "Visitor" made answer that no parent who felt the importance of instructing his children in religion would send them to a school where his own labors would be counteracted by the implied sentiment that such instruction had no value.[8]

In the same year that the "School Visitor" ran his series of articles in the *Connecticut Observer*, T. H. Gallaudet wrote several papers for the same journal. His was one of the first voices raised in behalf of better teaching. The articles were

[6] *Conn. Observer*, Feb. 15, 1825.
[7] *Ibid.*, March 1, 1825.
[8] *Ibid.*, April 12, 1825.

later published in pamphlet form in the same year. Gallaudet urged the establishment of a normal school in order to dignify teaching and make it a profession by training teachers for their work. In addition to other benefits involved, he hoped at such an institution to discover within a few years the best modes for imparting moral and religious truth to children and for preparing elementary books of instruction in this field. He asserted "that no systematic and tried process of leading the infant and youthful mind to the correct understanding of the doctrines and precepts of Divine Truth, exists to any extent among the religious community." The normal school should have two or three professors, men of talents, who should prepare material upon the theory and practice of the education of youth. It should have a library containing a complete list of theoretical and practical works on education in all languages, and all modern classroom equipment. A small school for indigent children and youth, especially of foreign children, should be attached to the larger institution, in which the future teachers could test out the theory of the classroom. Thus the business of school teaching would be reduced to a system and instruction would be raised to the rank of the most respectable professions. In addition to these objects, with the help of two or three fellowships for that purpose, books could be brought out for use in the early stages of education. In brief, Gallaudet had conceived the idea of a normal school, a vision to be realized later along the lines he indicated.[9]

Gallaudet admitted that doctors of divinity might be ever so correct in sentiment and phraseology and contain the very "marrow of orthodoxy"; they might even be exceedingly useful at the proper time in a child's life; but they do not go into detail, the terms are too abstract, there are no illustrations, and

[9] Gallaudet, T. H.: *A Plan of a Seminary for the Education of Instructors of Youth*, 1825, pp. 3-6.

"in nine cases out of ten, they cannot be understood by the infant mind."[10]

Books suitable for children were not plentiful in 1825. Sunday school libraries were not yet flourishing. Gallaudet reported that the great proportion of what were called children's books, and even schoolbooks, were very imperfectly adapted for the use of children. Too many were idle tales. "For," he commented, "although 'Tom Thumb' and 'Goody Two Shoes' are getting to be almost out of favor; yet I could name others, were it not that I feel some reluctance at offending the witty authors who have penned them, of equal nonsense and stupidity, which are yet to be found in our nurseries."[11] He remarked that he had seen certain facts bearing upon the common schools stated by a "very respectable Visiting School Committee." In some schools there was a total want of system in regard to books, in others children were permitted to use any books they or their parents might choose, resulting in great confusion and in injudicious selection. The books often changed when the instructor changed.[12] Gallaudet deplored the fact that few men with a high order of intellectual attainments had condescended to the apparent drudgery of preparing books for the elementary instruction of youth.[13]

Gallaudet asserted that the religious impression which the clergy hoped to make upon the adult depends very much upon the moral, religious, and intellectual education received in early life. "If then the religious education of youth was more faithfully, more thoroughly, and more systematically attended to, might we not hope to see Divine Truth, through whatever channel of benevolent effort it might be presented, making a readier

[10] Gallaudet, T. H.: *Plan of a Seminary, etc.*, 1825, pp. 9-10.
[11] *Ibid.*, p. 12.
[12] *Conn. Observer*, Jan. 25, 1825.
[13] Gallaudet, T. H.: *Plan of a Seminary, etc.*, 1825, p. 28.

and more effectual impression upon those of maturer age who come within the reach of its influence?"[14] That religious instruction was not faithfully attended to in the public schools in this period is evident from a report to the Norwalk School Society on November 7, 1832, in which a committee stated that in only one or two out of nine schools "was the Bible found as a reading to open school with in the morning."[15]

A systematic process of education was urged by Gallaudet as one of the most effective means of grace, but he asked, Where were the teachers to carry it on? Where were the books of moral and religious instruction formed upon a plan by which this process could be pursued?[16] Lest he should run counter to the theology of his day, Gallaudet hastened to add in his next essay that although he urged religious education as a means of grace, he wished it to be distinctly understood that he advocated nothing against the doctrine that a radical change of heart was necessary for salvation through the influence of the Holy Spirit. At the same time, it was necessary, with dependence upon Divine help, to use every means to bring about salutary impressions of gospel truth.[17] Although Gallaudet's scheme for a normal school was not to be immediately carried out, nevertheless his ideas were quoted by friends of education in school reports and in magazine articles, and his dream was realized a quarter of a century later, in 1849, by the establishment of the normal school for teachers.

Notwithstanding the general apathy prevailing in the first four decades of the last century regarding common schools, small groups took an active interest. Early in 1827, a society was formed in Hartford "for the improvement of common

[14] Gallaudet, T. H.: *Plan of a Seminary, etc.*, p. 19.

[15] *Conn. Sch. Jour.*, published under auspices of State Teachers' Asso., Aug., 1871, p. 291.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 20.

[17] Gallaudet, T. H.: *Plan of a Seminary, etc.*, 1825, p. 20.

schools," of which Hon. Roger Minot Sherman was president and the Rev. Horace Hooker, Rev. Thomas Robbins, and Rev. T. H. Gallaudet were active members. This was one of the earliest societies of its kind to advance popular education.[18]

In spite of efforts of the all too few friends of public education, common schools in Connecticut were failing to command the confidence of the people. Private schools were established in nearly every town, not only for the higher branches of an English education and for preparation for business or college, but also for primary instruction. Taxation for school purposes had almost ceased and was looked upon as anti-democratic. Supervision was a formality and the whole system seemed a failure.[19]

The Connecticut common school system was at a low ebb when Henry Barnard, in 1837, succeeded in persuading the state Legislature to gather material upon the condition of common schools. The returns on the inquiries sent out in pursuance to a resolve of the Legislature of that year revealed an alarming state of inefficiency. The Legislature, using as a basis for their action the information thus gathered, created the Board of Commissioners of Common Schools in May of the following year.

The Board elected Henry Barnard as secretary at their first meeting. The duties of the Board were, first, to make a statement, as far as it was practicable, of the condition of all common schools in the state, and, secondly, to submit such plans for improvement as might be deemed expedient. To accomplish this, the Board was authorized to require semi-annual returns from school visitors. As no mode of procedure was specified, Barnard was instructed to travel about the state to get first-hand evidence of conditions and to counsel with teachers and those interested in education. The secretary was further di-

[18] *Ann. Rep. of Supt. of Com. Sch. of Conn.*, 1853, p. 154.
[19] *Ibid.*, 1853, p. 167.

rected to establish a *Common School Journal* as soon as he felt the prospects of success would justify the effort.

The report submitted by Henry Barnard in May, 1839, was the most comprehensive survey which had been made of schools in Connecticut. It may also be properly credited with stimulating more interest in schools than any previous publication upon this subject. Two hundred and eleven school societies were reported in the state, 167 of which made returns. There were at the same time 1,706 school districts. The children in the state between the ages of four and sixteen years numbered 85,682, while the total number of pupils in the schools at all ages, of both sexes, was 54,550, the average attendance being 41,832. The average length of the winter schools was 18 weeks. Absence from school was prevalent, 4,730 children being returned as in no school whatever. The Board reported 996 male teachers, with an average salary of $15.48 per month, and 296 female teachers, with an average salary of $8.33 per month. Lack of continuity in the service of the teachers was a serious defect in the common schools. Out of the 996 male teachers in 1839 only 251 had taught the same school before, and only 79 out of the 296 female teachers had served previously in the same position. Only 165 teachers had served anywhere over 10 seasons, and only 389 had taught school over 5 seasons.[20]

A great variety of texts were used in the schools. There were 12 in spelling, 60 in reading, 34 in arithmetic, 21 in geography, 14 in history, 19 in grammar, 4 in natural philosophy, and 40 books in other branches.[21]

The first issue of the *Connecticut Common School Journal* appeared in August, 1838. More than 60,000 copies were circulated during its first year of publication.[22] In addition to the

[20] *First Ann. Rep. Board of Com. for Com. Sch. of Conn.*, May, 1839, p. 61. This report was reprinted in *Conn. Com. Sch. Jour.*, June, 1839, pp. 153-155, and the one for 1840 was reprinted in the same journal for June, 1840, pp. 197-244.

[21] *First Ann. Rep. Board of Com. for Com. Sch.*, 1839, p. 43.

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 8.

articles and suggestions contained in this periodical, Barnard circulated questionnaires gathering information as to the condition of the schools within the state. Conventions which were numerously attended were held in the several counties to discuss school matters. In one circular letter Barnard suggested that the clergymen of the different denominations be invited to give discourses on the subject of popular education to their people. As an evidence of the renewed interest in common school education, Barnard could report that in the course of the preceding winter one or more public addresses in reference to this subject had been given in 115 school societies, and that in about 50 towns and school societies common school associations were organized to generate interest in schools. Barnard himself had inspected over 200 schools.

The law which required parents to look after the education of their children, a law which had been on the statute books since 1650, was unenforced. To attempt to enforce it would have been considered an invasion of parental rights.[23] Although school visitors were required by law to visit schools "twice during each season," Henry Barnard in 1839 describes the performance of this duty in many places as inefficient, irregular, and formal at best. Frequently the schools were visited "twice" as the law required, in the same week or in the same day. Very often visitors would apportion different schoolhouses to different members of the committee, and in this way no one could compare their relative progress.[24] School visitation was a thankless job, carrying no compensation for time and expense involved, and very little return in public respect.

The schools were supported from six different sources. The first was the semi-annual dividend of the School Fund, begun in 1795 from the sale of the Western Lands in the Western

[23] *First Ann. Rep. Board of Com. for Com. Sch. of Conn.*, 1839, p. 12.
[24] *Ibid.*, p. 17.

Reserve in Ohio.[25] The second was the income from Town Deposit Funds. At an extra session of the Legislature in 1836, the surplus revenue belonging to the United States devolving to Connecticut was deposited in the several towns and one-half of the annual interest of the same was appropriated to the promoters of education in the common schools in such a manner as each town might direct.[26] The income from Society and Local School Funds constituted the third source. These funds were the avails from the sale of seven townships in the western part of Connecticut in 1733.

The fourth source of income was the avails of any Society School Tax which the individual societies might levy. Dependence upon the School Fund had grown until very few societies laid any tax whatever, deeming that duty had been performed with the expenditure of the semi-annual dividends. On this point Barnard was able to report in 1841: "I know of several school societies which tax themselves regularly to a small extent, for school purposes. This is done not infrequently where the school society is co-extensive with the town."[27]

The fifth source of revenue was the avails of any district tax

[25] *Ann. Rep. Supt. Com. Sch.*, 1853, p. 164.

[26] The School Fund created by the sale of the Western Lands was managed from its inception to the year 1800 by a committee. In 1800 the dividend from the Fund was $23,651.10. From 1800 to 1810 it was administered by a board of four managers. James Hillhouse then took charge as commissioner of the School Fund, from 1811 to 1825. Under his direction the dividend from the Fund grew from $45,088.90 in 1810 to $72,418.30 in 1825. Hillhouse was succeeded by Seth P. Beers, who managed the Fund until 1849, when the dividend amounted to $133,336.50. Beers was followed by a number of commissioners, who held office for short periods. In 1850 Gurdon Trumbull assumed the office, in 1851 John C. Palmer, in 1852 Abijah Collin, in 1853 John C. Palmer again directed the fund, in 1854 Mason Cleaveland held the post of commissioner, and in 1855 Albert Sedgwick took charge of the Fund until the year ending May, 1868, when George A. Paine assumed that office. In 1861 the dividend was $124,647.35, a decrease of a little over $1,000 from the dividend of the preceding year. See the reports of the Commissioner of the School Fund. See *First Ann. Rep. Board of Com. for Com. Sch. of Conn.*, 1839, pp. 21-24, for a discussion of the support of schools.

[27] *First Ann. Rep. Board of Com. for Com. Sch. of Conn.*, 1839, p. 24.

that might have been levied, concerning which Barnard said: "Of the amount I know nothing. It is always narrowed down to the objects coming within the strictest letter of the law, building and repairs of school-house, and expenses for fuel."[28]

The sixth source of revenue was the taxes placed upon parents whose children were attending school. The tax operated very unfavorably, inasmuch as the more well-to-do sent their children to academies and private schools, leaving the burden of support (beyond what the School Fund dividend would provide for) to be paid by way of taxes by those whose children attended schools. The burden was further increased in that the same class must pay enough extra to make up for the abatements for poor children.[29]

The next notable essay on school matters was written in 1846 by Rev. Noah Porter, Jr., presenting a plan for improving the public schools in Connecticut. This paper, entitled *The Necessity and Means of Improving the Common Schools,* was written in contest for a prize of one hundred dollars offered by Thomas Day, Thomas H. Gallaudet, and William D. Ely for the best practical essay on the common schools adapted to general circulation. Porter won the prize and his essay was immediately published and circulated in pamphlet form. The essay was considered of such importance that it was attached to the first annual report of the Superintendent of Common Schools.

The facts contained in Porter's paper demonstrate that, in spite of the efforts of Henry Barnard in securing the appropriation of the Legislature in 1837 which made possible a survey of existing conditions, followed by the appointment of the Board of Commissioners for Common Schools, Connecticut's common school system continued to suffer from many ills.

The large School Fund, the avails from the sale of the West-

[28] *First Ann. Rep. of Board of Com. for Com. Sch. of Conn.,* 1839, p. 24.
[29] *Ibid.,* 1839, p. 25.

ern Lands authorized by the law of 1795, was described by Porter as having put Connecticut effectually to sleep. Dividends were paid to societies, with no promise on their part to raise any amount whatever for their schools. The School Fund was cited outside the state as a warning and example to prevent other states from granting the proceeds of their school funds without first imposing the condition that those who received moneys from the same should raise a like amount and report annually as to the results. Connecticut had required nothing of the sort.

Porter first indicated the conditions of the common schools of Connecticut and then outlined constructive suggestions regarding remedies and improvements.

First, he dealt with the appropriations for school purposes. The fund set apart in 1795 now amounted to $2,070,000 and contributed $1.40 to the societies for every pupil between the ages of four and sixteen. In addition, there were town deposit funds and local funds. Due to the fact that Connecticut had not annexed to the reception of their annual dividend the condition of raising a stipulated amount by the districts, the latter diminished their taxation, until in 1822 there was no tax whatever for school purposes. In 1845, Porter stated, it was not known that a single town or school society in the state had raised a tax for school purposes by voluntary taxation. A few large city districts collected a small property tax to be applied to teachers' salaries, which in the whole state did not amount to over $9,000, or three cents to each inhabitant, or ten cents to each child between the ages of four and sixteen. In Massachusetts the amount raised for each child averaged $2.99. In New York the towns were obliged to raise an amount equal to the dividend awarded from the state.

Second, conditions as to supervision of schools were brought out. In the school law of 1798 Connecticut had set aside a class

of officers with the special duty of visiting schools. By this law school societies were authorized to appoint a "suitable number of persons, not exceeding nine of competent skill in letters, to be overseers or visitors of the schools," whose duty it should be to examine into school matters and to "superintend and direct the instruction of the youth in letters, morals and in manners." They were to visit the schools twice or oftener during the season of schooling. Their term of office should continue during the pleasure of the society.[30] The only change up to 1845 was that the towns now made returns to the Commissioner of the School Fund. Massachusetts meanwhile had a state Board of Education with an official set apart to collect facts and diffuse information for the improvement of the schools. New York had a state superintendent, a school officer for each county, and a superintendent for each town.

Third, Porter recommended teachers' institutes for the education and improvement of teachers. He referred to the first meeting of the kind held in Hartford County as convening at Hartford in 1839. Only one other since that date was believed to have been held in Connecticut. Porter mentioned the first effort in Hartford County to call public attention to the importance of normal or teachers' seminaries made by T. H. Gallaudet through his articles in the *Connecticut Observer* in 1825, referred to previously.

Fourth, Porter made a brief survey of the condition of schoolhouses, which in many cases at that time were poorly ventilated, insufficiently equipped, and many without outhouses. He referred to Horace Mann's report of 1838, which stimulated the improvement of schoolhouses. Between that year and 1844, Connecticut spent $634,326 upon the construction and permanent repair of school buildings.

Fifth, the author described the condition of school libraries

[30] *Acts and Laws of Conn.*, 1798, p. 482.

and their needs. Porter stated: "The first juvenile library perhaps in the world was established in Salisbury, Connecticut, more than half a century since, and the originator of the school district library enterprise was a native of this state. This is about all that Connecticut is known to have done in this department."

The school returns for 1845 had revealed nearly universal despondency upon the part of school visitors and friends of common school education. The lack of public interest seemed the outstanding defect. The people were inclined to wait for legislative enactment rather than attempt any remedies upon their own motion. What, then, was to be done? The main reliance must be placed upon an awakening of the public mind. The press must be interested, writers must be set at work, political parties must give assistance, the pulpit must aid, and the lecture platform be employed to get the facts before the people. Porter affirmed that the principles upon which a common school system should rest had been settled by trial and he advocated six measures for relief of the situation in which the Connecticut schools found themselves.

First, an examination of teachers by competent and qualified men was advocated. A physician, a clergyman, or a lawyer must be examined and licensed; why should not school teachers be treated in the same manner? Porter recommended an examining body in the county or senatorial district from which teachers should secure licenses, for which they themselves should pay. It was the testimony of the majority of the Board of Examiners in the state that the present system was merely a form. If a young man desired to obtain fifty or one hundred dollars by keeping a winter school, he would go to the committee, generally containing among its members the clergyman of his parish or the family physician or the local lawyer, all of whom had personal reasons for not wishing to discourage the

application of the prospective teacher. Their duty was a thankless one at best and looked upon as a favor to the public rather than a trust for which they were obliged to account. Porter insisted that this ineffective procedure be done away with and that the candidate go to a board outside his native town. The profession would thus be elevated by higher qualifications. If such a board should also have the duty of visiting the schools, it would bring about an added advantage, as they would have the opportunity of comparing the various schools and of consultation with the teachers.[31]

Second, teachers' institutes should be held without delay. Teachers in the various districts could convene for a week and discuss the problems of method and materials.

Third, normal schools should be provided. The expense could be defrayed either by the legislature or by philanthropy.

Fourth, an increase should be made in the pay of the teachers. Male teachers in common schools in Connecticut in 1846 were receiving on an average $15.42, and females $6.86 per month.[32]

In the fifth place, the cities and villages were urged to elevate their public schools by the formation of higher schools.

Finally, Porter urged that the doctrine should be made clear in Connecticut that the property of the whole community may be taxed for the support of schools. This right had been denied and disputed in Connecticut. The cry had been raised that the high schools were "schools for the rich." Consequently the poor voted against them and the rich sent their children to private schools. Connecticut had no property tax at all, but a capitation tax upon those whose children attended school. "Hence, in the summer," commented Porter, "troops of children go nowhere to school, except to the school of nature, which to them is

[31] Porter, Rev. Noah, Jr.: Prize Essay, *The Necessity and Means of Improving the Common Schools of Conn.*, 1846, pp. 11-12.

[32] *Ann. Rep. Supt. Com. Sch. of Conn.*, 1846, p. 181.

the school of ignorance and vice, and the schools which are kept up in multitudes of cases are the merest skeletons of schools, both in numbers and in character."[33] Porter advocated a property tax which would make schools the pride of the whole people.

In proposing these reforms, Porter placed responsibility especially upon two classes of citizens—the lawyer, who is interested in sound politics, and the clergyman, upon whom rested the obligation to declare that it was a religious duty to care for the ignorant. Let the minister preach this duty from the pulpit. We raise money for schools for the destitute in our own country and in foreign lands, "And yet," said Porter, "there are towns in Connecticut in which there are scores of children, which for want of that moral and intellectual culture, that the public schools might give, are, as really, though not in the same degree, hopeless subjects of religious truth, as many children of Ceylon and Burmah. We have seen children of this character. Besides these, there are thousands for whom a teacher could do far more than a clergyman, and on whom the church can act most directly and efficiently through the teacher."[34]

Porter recognized that there had been efforts to excite distrust of any system of public education and that the public school had been held up as anti-religious, but he felt there need be no embarrassment on such matters in Connecticut. He asserted that "The people of Connecticut, with scarcely an exception, are of one mind in the belief of the following truths. They believe in moral duties as enforced by the words and life of Jesus. They believe with Washington, that public morality is best secured by religious faith and religious feeling. None of them will object to the use of simple but fervent prayers and hymns, to the inculcation of the duty of imitating Christ, and

[33] Porter, Rev. Noah, Jr.: Prize Essay, *The Necessity and Means of Improving the Common Schools of Conn.*, 1846, p. 16.

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 19.

of trusting in Him. In these points they can all unite, and they can turn them to use in their public schools. What the children need to be taught beside, can be supplied in the family, the Sabbath School, the pulpit."[35]

Porter's prize essay made a marked impression upon the friends of education throughout the state. It was frequently referred to in the reports of school visitors during the next few years.[36] The Superintendent of Common Schools had it reprinted and attached to his annual report in 1846, and in 1850, as representative of the best suggestion and criticism in regard to common schools.

The Legislature in 1842 had abolished the Board of Commissioners of Common Schools and by a law of 1845 they constituted the Commissioner of the School Fund the Superintendent of Common Schools. He was to collect statistics, make reports, and arouse the people to a recognition of the importance of common school training.

The next notable contribution to the educational history of Connecticut was made by Seth P. Beers, the first Superintendent of Common Schools, who collected statistics and published his first report in 1846. His report furnished a reliable basis upon which those working for better common schools could estimate the results of their labors and gain some idea of the condition of the school system throughout the state. The report stated that there were 1,351 school districts, which received a total amount from the School Fund of $99,299.20. There were 71,196 children between the ages of four and sixteen. Attendance in winter averaged 43,748, and in summer 34,725. At the same time there were 6,402 pupils in private schools. It was estimated that there were 4,345 children not in any school, either summer or winter. The average length of school in winter was four and a half months, and in summer four and two-thirds

[35] Porter, Rev. Noah, Jr.: Prize Essay, *The Necessity and Means of Improving the Common Schools of Conn.*, 1846, p. 19.

[36] *Third Ann. Rep. of Supt. of Com. Sch. of Conn.*, 1848, p. 143.

months. In regard to teachers, the report stated that in winter there was an average of 1,075 male and 338 female teachers employed, and in summer an average of 123 male and 1,177 female. The salaries of the male teachers averaged $15.42 per month, and those of the female teachers $6.86. The vast majority of teachers "boarded around" with the parents of the children. Nine hundred and eleven followed this custom, while 174 boarded themselves in 1846.[37] Teachers' pay gradually increased. In 1861 male teachers received, including board, $31.20 per month and female teachers $17.34.[38]

Beers reported numerous defects. General apathy prevailed upon the part of parents in visiting the schools and in attending school meetings, a condition which persisted throughout this period. Emphasis had been placed upon securing cheap rather than well-qualified teachers. A constant change of teachers from summer to winter resulted in confusion. Better schoolrooms and outdoor accommodations were needed. Only 437 schoolhouses were supplied with the necessary outbuilding, while 1,163 were not supplied, a condition detrimental to the health, morals, and manners of the pupils and teachers alike.[39] The Redding School Society reported all its schoolhouses destitute of outhouses save one.[40] In 1852 Barnard reported only 50 schools having two outhouses and 326 with none at all.[41] The West Chester School Society in 1846 reported that a majority of its buildings had no outhouse of any sort.[42]

The problem of securing suitable books was acute. The lack of uniformity continued. A great many school societies reported using the New Testament, the Psalms, and the Bible as reading books in 1846. Other reading books were the *National Precep-*

[37] *Ann. Rep. Supt. Com. Sch. of Conn.*, 1846, p. 181.
[38] *Ibid.*, 1861, p. 49.
[39] *Ibid.*, 1846, p. 8.
[40] *Ibid.*, 1846, p. 87.
[41] *Ibid.*, 1852, p. 21.
[42] *Ibid.*, 1846, p. 62.

tor, Reader's Guide, Goodrich's Readers, Lovell's Readers, Young Pupils' Book, Worcester's Readers, Class Book of Nature, English Reader, Reader's Manual, Easy Reader, and "a great variety of books of more humble pretensions for young readers."[43] Ninety-two kinds of reading books were listed as used in the schools in 1846, with a total of 218 for all subjects.[44] The West Haven School Society was not alone when it reported: "No rules have been prescribed respecting books except that scholars *must have books,* and not depend on using each other's."[45] The Woodbridge School Society visitors tactfully recommended "as much uniformity as circumstances will allow."[46] Lyme First and Second School Societies and a few others, however, had prescribed what books should be used and were able to report, "there is *now* a general uniformity in all our schools."[47] North Stonington Society expostulated in its report: "As to the multiplicity of books, a *legal recommendation* would be of great advantage."[48] Preston First School Society observed that the variety of books was a hindrance to the cause of education.[49]

Still other defects existed in the common school system of Connecticut in this period. Children were irregular in attendance. School districts, school societies, and towns were unwilling to raise money by tax for the payment of teachers and school visitors and for the building and repair of schoolhouses. This was a paralyzing factor in the general situation. The Common School Fund was relied on for funds, and little was done by the districts to augment the annual dividend from that source. Small districts were unable to build a schoolhouse and

[43] *Ann. Rep. of Supt. of Com. Sch. of Conn.,* 1846, p. 24.
[44] *Ibid.,* pp. 164, 165, 169.
[45] *Ibid.,* p. 54.
[46] *Ibid.,* p. 59.
[47] *Ibid.,* p. 69.
[48] *Ibid.,* p. 74.
[49] *Ibid.,* p. 76.

employ a good teacher for a sufficient length of time. Ridgefield First School Society, commenting on the defects in the system, stated: "The main difficulty in our Connecticut school system is the fact that we have too much money. It removes the necessity of sacrifices and hence we lose the interest which would be created by the fact that our schools cost something. 'What *costs* nothing is *worth* nothing.' "[50]

School visitation continued to be a thankless and unpopular service and was often done in a desultory manner and frequently by one individual, directed by the Board, as in the case of Pomfret First Society in 1846.[51]

Only occasionally do the records show that districts and societies taxed themselves. Glastonbury was reported in 1849 to have raised a small tax annually for school purposes. The visitors stated that the abundant proceeds of the school and deposit funds still operated to prevent the people from embracing the cause of education with any spirit of lavishness and sacrifice.

Beers advocated also a more thorough system of supervision, that there might be a greater uniformity and vigor in carrying out the provisions of the school laws. There was a lack of a sense of responsibility to the Legislature for the manner in which the large amount received from the state was expended. Beers concluded his survey of the defects in the system by pointing out the patronage of the private schools by the rich to the disadvantage of the common schools, and the want of suitable apparatus in the same.[52]

In addition to the outstanding documents and reports concerning the schools during these decades, three further matters demand some consideration. These topics are, the libraries, the problem of a normal school, and the measures taken in the

[50] *Ann. Rep. of Supt. of Com. Sch. of Conn.*, 1846, p. 89.
[51] *Ibid.*, p. 108.
[52] *Ibid.*, pp. 9-13.

common schools to instruct the young in religion and morality.

The common schools suffered for the want of libraries throughout the first half of the last century. Trumbull reported in 1818 that there were about 140 libraries in Connecticut, containing 26,000 volumes, not including the libraries of professional men. These libraries contained books on divinity, morals, history, geography, biography, travels, etc., and were formed by the support of a number of individuals interested in such things. One such library association was formed in Durham in 1733, and another in 1787.[53] A library company was organized in Farmington during the Revolutionary War period or shortly after.[54] In addition to the *Religious Intelligencer,* fifteen newspapers were published in Connecticut in 1818 which averaged a thousand copies per week or about fifteen thousand folio copies in all.[55]

Libraries for common school purposes were still rare by 1840. Barnard in that year was unable to learn that anything was being done by the districts in regard to libraries for the pupils, although a law had authorized societies to levy a tax for that purpose not to exceed thirty dollars. Inasmuch as several publishing houses were selling children's books cheaply bound at from ten to thirty cents per copy, thirty dollars would furnish a schoolhouse with a considerable number of juvenile books. In two or three instances individuals had joined together to purchase libraries for the benefit of older school children and of adults. Salisbury had a juvenile library in 1803, originating in the gift of books from Caleb Bingham. In 1840 the library contained "near 500 volumes."[56] Washington District, Hartford, in 1840 possessed a library containing nearly 400 volumes, which contained, in addition to several teachers' man-

[53] Fowler, William Chauncey: *Hist. of Durham,* pp. 103, 106.
[54] Camp, David N.: *Hist. of New Britain,* p. 244.
[55] Trumbull, Benjamin: *Hist. of Conn.,* II, p. 548.
[56] *Fourth Ann. Rep. Board of Com. for Com. Sch. in Conn.,* 1842, p. 52.

uals, books adapted to children. These included the "New York District Library," 4 series, 195 volumes, "The Massachusetts School Library," 25 volumes, "The Christian Library," 45 volumes, as well as many volumes of biography and history.

The school visitors for Trumbull asserted in 1841: "There are no libraries belonging to the school society or districts in our society, apart from private ones. Some small private ones are accessible to such as desire the privilege. There are two or three Sunday School libraries, containing 350 to 400 volumes, together with one small parish library and the remains of an old library nearly run down."[57]

Harper and Brothers were putting out "The School District Library" of 145 volumes at 38 cents the copy. The library contained biography, travels, scientific investigations, missionary narratives, fiction, and history, with some translations of the classics. At the same time Marsh, Capen, Lyon, and Webb were publishing "The School Library" under the sanction of the Massachusetts Board of Education. The library was to embrace two series of fifty volumes each, "the one to be in eighteen mo., averaging from 250 to 280 pages per volume; the other in twelve mo., each volume containing from 350 to 400 pages." Some of the volumes in the large series already published were *Life of Columbus,* by Washington Irving, Paley's *Natural Theology* and *A Familiar Exposition of the Constitution of the United States* by Judge Story.[58] Other publishing houses were advertising similar libraries.

The desire for libraries in connection with the schools was not unanimous. The Chaplin school visitors considered them on almost every account objectionable. The character of such libraries depended upon the person or persons who selected

[57] "Report of Visitors of Trumbull School Society for 1840-1841," printed in *Conn. Com. Sch. Jour.*, July, 1841, p. 195. Such reports are typical of conditions throughout the state.

[58] *Conn. Com. Sch. Jour.*, March 15, 1841.

the books; consequently they were likely to be either sectarian or corrupting. They pointed out that little satisfaction had resulted in those states where the school district library plan had been established. Books were cheap, and they deemed it better for parents to make the selection for their children than to leave the matter to "some bigoted sectary, or concealed unprincipaled sceptic."[59] Manchester, however, reported two schools supplied with libraries in 1848.[60] In 1856 the Superintendent of Common Schools reported 55 school libraries.[61] The number steadily increased until in 1861 there were 571 schools with libraries.[62]

Sunday schools had considerable influence in creating the demand for libraries. The editors of the Report of the American Sunday School Union for 1850 have reason for saying, "What caused the call for common-school district libraries but the visible influence which the Sunday school library exerted on those who availed themselves of it?"[63]

The agitation for a normal school started by T. H. Gallaudet in 1825, by his articles in the *Connecticut Observer,* was renewed after the publication of Noah Porter's prize essay on *The Necessity and Means of Improving the Common Schools of Connecticut* in 1846. Some isolated efforts had previously been made for the training of teachers. In the winter of 1838-1839 four thousand dollars had been subscribed in the community about New Britain toward establishing a county seminary for the education of instructors in the common schools.[64] School visitors and officials constantly pointed to the establishment of a normal school as the remedy for poor teaching. Gallaudet had hoped that such an institution would prove a means

[59] *Ann. Rep. Supt. Com. Sch. of Conn.,* 1847, p. 99.
[60] *Ibid.,* 1848, p. 126.
[61] *Ibid.,* 1856, p. 174.
[62] *Ibid.,* 1861, p. 50.
[63] *Twenty-Sixth Ann. Rep. of Am. S. S. Union,* 1850, p. 43.
[64] Camp, David N.: *Hist. of New Britain,* p. 227.

for the discovery of adequate methods of religious instruction and for the preparation of suitable materials. In 1849 the Superintendent of Common Schools attached to his annual report a copy of a bill for an "Act for the Establishment of a State Normal School."[65] Various "schools for teachers" or "short normal schools," in the nature of conventions for teachers, were held in Deep River, Berlin, Durham, Guilford, Mansfield Centre, Lebanon, and other points in 1848-1849. The seed sown by Henry Barnard and Gallaudet was being watered by Superintendent Beers. A more lively interest was being manifested in the common schools, and more nearly adequate and appropriate methods were being employed to rid parents of their apathy through publications and lectures and to train teachers by the various institutes conducted.

A state normal school was authorized by legislation on June 22, 1849. In 1850 Henry Barnard stated regarding what he hoped would be the religious influence of this institution, that "To cultivate a truly religious feeling—to lay the foundation and implant the motives for a truly religious life—to enable the teachers by precept and example rightly to develop the moral faculties, and to define and enforce the performance of all the great primary moral duties, in the schools which may be placed under their charge,—will be one of the cardinal objects of the Normal School."[66] In 1852 Barnard reported for the preceding year, that the normal school had been under the management of Rev. T. D. P. Stone and Professor D. N. Camp. During the two years the school had been in operation 324 teachers had been in attendance for one or more sessions. In addition to their labors in the normal school, the instructors had assisted 22 institutes in the state during the year ending May, 1852.[67] The *Hartford Courant* stated in 1855 that the normal school at New

[65] *Fourth Ann. Rep. of Supt. of Com. Sch. of Conn.*, 1849, pp. 143-144.
[66] *Fifth Ann. Rep. of Supt. of Com. Sch. of Conn.*, 1850, p. 19.
[67] *Seventh Ann. Rep. of Supt. of Com. Sch. of Conn.*, 1852, p. 16.

Britain had done more than any other agency to advance the standard of common school education.[68]

Teachers' institutes grew in favor after 1846. One had been held in Hartford in 1839, but no others are recorded until November, 1846, when another such gathering was held in the same city. In 1847 eighteen such institutes were conducted and the number was never less than seven throughout the fifties.[69] Among the topics for discussion in these institutes were, moral and religious instruction and influence generally, the best use of the Bible or Testament in school, and modes of promoting obedience to parents, respectful demeanor to elders, and general submission to duty.[70]

Common schools became a fruitful source of contention between the Catholic and Protestant educators after the influx of Irish and German immigrants in the years 1835 to 1855. Text-books had very largely dropped all definitely religious material by 1835, but it was customary to have religious exercises in the form of reading the Bible, commonly followed by prayer. To all such religious instruction the Catholic leaders objected, upon the grounds that they could not conscientiously subject their children to religious instruction not carried on by their own religious teachers. The Catholic population therefore undertook to duplicate the common schools by establishing a parochial school system. The burden of double taxation, since they were taxed for both common and church schools, aroused the Catholics to struggle for a proportion of the public school funds commensurate with their numbers, although the Constitution of 1818 forbade such apportionment.[71] Their appeals were denied. Horace Bushnell, a great protagonist of the common school system, with other Protestant leaders, insisted that

[68] Issue of Feb. 9, 1855.
[69] *Ann. Rep. of Supt. of Com. Sch. of Conn.*, 1861, pp. 128-131.
[70] *Ibid.*, 1850, Appendix, p. 22.
[71] Art. VIII, Sec. 2.

common schools must be kept at all costs to preserve American ideals and institutions[72] This phase of the subject is taken up in greater detail in the chapter on the growth of the Catholic school system.

Not only was there friction between the Catholics and Protestants, but the disadvantages which the Church of England had suffered under Congregational domination in Connecticut caused its members to be watchful of their position. A serious discussion arose in Hartford in 1848, due to a protest made by two citizens against a vote of the Board of School Visitors to eliminate portions of Goodrich's and of Olney's histories of the United States which contained matter uncomplimentary to the Episcopalians regarding their attitude in the early Puritan and Separatist movements. The texts in general use were written by authors of strong Puritan persuasion. The vote was recalled and the books were left uncensured. Rev. William Watson issued a 72-page pamphlet against the use of such books, going at length into the history of the separations from the English Episcopal church.[73] In an appendix he cites several passages in various school books unfavorable to the Episcopalians.[74]

No uniform method of religious instruction was employed in the common schools. The Bible at this date was quite generally used as a class book. Some teachers employed maps of Palestine and mingled geography, history, ancient names, and customs with moral and religious teaching. In some localities, the Bible was made the law book of the school. Printed questions and a systematized plan of study were used in other schools. The various literary styles found in the Scriptures were thought by many to afford good exercises for practice in reading with critical attention to the situation of the speakers. Others taught

[72] An account of the Catholic position and of Horace Bushnell's attitude in these matters is given in Chapters XII and XIV, respectively.

[73] Watson, William: *The School Fund Perverted,* Hartford, 1848.

[74] *Ibid.,* pp. 71-72.

the Bible through a deep-seated feeling that frequent repetition of the Scriptures was a blessing and a portion of the birthright of children in a Christian land.[75]

The uncertain status of religious education in the common schools in 1839 is made plain in the lectures of R. C. Wasterson on moral and spiritual influences of the schools, printed in the *Connecticut Common School Journal*. He raises such questions as whether there should be stated hours of the day when moral and spiritual instruction should be given, and whether there should be text-books. In answer to the first question, he urged that some time at least be set aside for religious purposes and advocated a stated period, if it could be observed without becoming mechanical. In reply to the query regarding text-books, Wasterson deemed it undesirable to exclude texts, but considered most books then published on the subject as more valuable to be studied at home by the teacher as a source of ideas from others' experience.[76]

Other methods employed in teaching Scriptural materials of religious education were to have classes read portions touching upon anger or lying, if a child appeared contentious or untruthful. The same method was applied to rid pupils of indolence, profanity, and other improper conduct. One master is recorded who upon Saturday would ask his pupils to find the chapter which tells about a king's eyes being put out, or about the king's son who was crippled by the carelessness of his nurse. This was done in order to stimulate the reading of the Scriptures on Sunday.[77]

Henry Barnard in 1841 declared that religious and moral instruction was too much overlooked in the common schools.

[75] Article, "Daily Use of the Bible in Schools," *Conn. Com. Sch. Jour.*, Sept., 1838, p. 15.

[76] Wasterson, R. C., printed in *Conn. Com. Sch. Jour.*, Dec., 1839, pp. 78-79.

[77] Davis: *Teacher Taught*, extract printed in *Conn. Com. Sch. Jour.*, Jan., 1841, p. 70.

The Bible was often used as a reading book, or as a religious exercise at the opening of the day's sessions, in such a way as not to "inspire a proper respect for its divine character, or to give the full meaning of its great truths and lessons."[78]

There is evidence that school visitors were not unmindful of the need of religious instruction. The report of the School Visitors of the Norwich Second School Society, appointed in 1839, stated: "We think that every school should have *moral* as well as *intellectual* instruction; and great care should be exercised in the selection of teachers with reference to this. We also deem it highly important to have a religious influence brought to bear on our children in our schools, that the leading principles of the Christian religion should be inculcated on the mind; that the existence of God may not be forgotten, but constantly recognized—because we believe that knowledge without religion only qualifies the possessor to do the more of evil to his fellow men."[79] The Trumbull School Society visitor for the year 1840-1841 mentioned "that the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments have been taught in our schools, and generally recited once a week."[80]

The clergy, as a body, were apathetic in regard to the common schools. Henry Barnard asserted that although common schools owed their existence to the efforts of the clergy, nevertheless the clergy of the day were so busily engaged in the Sunday school, tract, Bible, missionary, and temperance causes, that the education of the whole people in intellect and morality was being overlooked. Rev. B. O. Peers' book on *American Education* was cited, in which the author devotes a chapter to this very appeal to the ministry to take a more active interest

[78] Barnard, Henry: *Third Ann. Rep. of Board of Com. of Com. Sch. in Conn.,* May, 1841, p. 27. A like sentiment was reiterated in *Conn. Com. Sch. Jour.,* Oct., 1856, pp. 289-291.

[79] Printed in *Conn. Com. Sch. Jour.,* Nov. 15, 1840, p. 25.

[80] *Ibid.,* July, 1841, p. 195.

in common schools.[81] There were, however, outstanding exceptions among the ministry, such as T. H. Gallaudet, Noah Porter, and Horace Bushnell, who lent the considerable weight of their influence to the cause of common school education.

Horace Bushnell saw the indifference with which many Christian people looked upon the common schools, especially in regard to religion. He insisted that there was "something very unnatural in the general estrangement of religion and religious men among us, from the great subject of common education." In no point of view, he urged, did they stand in wider contrast with the Christian people of preceding generations. Education without religion was education without virtue, to Bushnell. He stated: "The great point with all Christians must be to secure the Bible its proper place. To this as a sacred duty all sectarian aims must be sacrificed. Nothing is more certain than that no such thing as a sectarian religion is to find a place in our schools. It must find a place for the Bible as a book of principles, as containing the true standards of character and the best motives and aids to virtue. If any Christian desires more he must teach it himself at home. To insist that the state shall teach the rival opinions of sects and risk the loss of all instruction for that, would be folly and wickedness together."[82]

There was never a lack of official pronouncement as to the importance and need of religious and moral instruction. Reports of boards and individuals, although unable to untangle the mixed skein of religious interests, nevertheless held to the principle.[83]

The method of religious instruction in the common schools

[81] *Conn. Com. Sch. Jour.*, Jan. 5, 1840, p. 101. For a detailed report on common school conditions in Hartford in 1841, see Report of Sub-Committee, Rev. H. Bushnell, Chairman, *ibid.*, Dec. 1, 1841, pp. 5-13.

[82] Bushnell, Horace: *Conn. Com. Sch. Jour.*, Jan. 15, 1840, p. 102.

[83] Report of the Committee on Education, appointed by the Governor under a Resolution of the General Assembly of 1844; General Assembly, May Session, 1845, p. 42.

continued to be desultory and ineffective. Granby First Society reported in 1846 that in the use of the Testament the teachers were not allowed to give any sectarian teaching. The catechisms which in former times had been in use were prohibited.[84] Just how far the influx of German and Irish Catholic immigrants in this period was a cause of diminishing religious instruction in the common schools is a matter of conjecture. The East Haven School Society for the same year reported the schools uniformly closed with prayer.[85] A great majority of the schools in 1846 reported the use of the Testament or Bible as a reading book. The Lebanon First Society prescribed that the Bible be read at least once each day.[86] The Canaan School Society stated: "We insist on the use of the New Testament and Webster's Elementary Spelling Book. Beyond this we have no books prescribed by law." New Milford First Society reported that religious instruction was wholly neglected, and "the holy motives furnished by the word of God are pretty generally overlooked. Sunday Schools may in some degree supply this defect, and it is difficult to introduce religious instruction where there is no unity of sentiment, and yet it seems incompetent wholly to dissever mental teaching from religious accountability for the use made of one's intellectual powers."[87]

The Goshen school visitors expressed the view in 1847 that they would like to see children of all suitable ages equipped with the spelling book, a grammar, and the New Testament. This expression probably sprang from a desire for uniformity in books rather than any pronounced feeling for religious education as such.[88] Oxford reported in 1849 that, "Here we read the New Testament invariably."[89] In the same year Milford

[84] *Ann. Rep. Supt. Com. Sch. of Conn.*, 1846, p. 37.
[85] *Ibid.*, 1846, p. 48.
[86] *Ibid.*, 1846, p. 66.
[87] *Ibid.*, p. 127.
[88] *Ibid.*, 1847, p. 88.
[89] *Fourth Ann. Rep. of Supt. of Com. Sch. of Conn.*, 1849, p. 91.

reported the Bible as one of the books used in school.[90] The visitors from Willimantic expressed the desire that the Bible have its place in every sound system of education. Whether or not it was used in their schools does not appear.[91]

Occasionally school visitors would touch upon the religious training of children. The visitor for Berlin First Society in 1849 remarked: "The subscriber believes that if the common schools could be fostered and encouraged according to their real importance, communicating not only intellectual, but moral and religious instruction, without sectarianism, according to the spirit of the laws, inculcating the true brotherhood of man, a new era would shortly dawn upon us. But alas! the children must yet longer be ground between the upper and nether mill-stones of party spirit and sectarian jealousy."[92]

Manchester reported in 1848 that the New Testament was read once each day in all schools.[93] There was no uniformity in practice in reading the Bible from a devotional viewpoint. Many teachers neglected all religious instruction, while in other schools, in fact in most schools, the Bible was employed as a reader. Horace Bushnell in 1853 protested that it was not religious instruction for a child to be drilled in spelling out the words of the Bible. The exercise might only dull the mind to the sense of the words and communicate nothing of their meaning.[94]

In 1855 New Britain had a rule made by the school visitors that "The morning exercises of all the schools shall commence with the reading of the Scriptures; and it is recommended that the reading be followed with prayer by the teacher."[95] Harwinton required all district schools to be opened in the morning by

[90] *Fourth Ann. Rep. of Supt. of Com. Sch. of Conn.*, 1849, p. 86.
[91] *Ibid.*, 1849, p. 112.
[92] *Ibid.*, 1849, p. 62.
[93] *Third Ann. Rep. Supt. Com. Sch. of Conn.*, 1848, p. 126.
[94] Bushnell, Horace: *A Discourse on the Modifications Demanded by the Roman Catholics*, 1853, p. 19.
[95] *Rep. Supt. Com. Sch. of Conn.*, 1855, p. 137.

reading a portion of the Scriptures, which might be done by the teacher alone or in connection with the older pupils.[96] Waterbury, in the reading lesson in its "Second Department," required reading "unhesitatingly in the New Testament."[97] The New Testament was probably used here more as a reading book than for a devotional purpose. In the same year (1855), out of 218 societies within the state, 100 reported that the Bible was required to be used in the schools and 6 reported that it was not required.[98] The rules of the Norwich Central School Society for 1856 required every school to be opened with reading from the Holy Scriptures "as a devotional exercise," and it was recommended that the Lord's Prayer, or other prayer, be used by the teacher, or by the teacher and pupils together.[99] In the Junior Grammar School of that society the Bible was required with *Lovell's Third and Fourth Readers* as reading books. The Bible was also employed as a reading book in the Senior Grammar School. Barnard remarked in 1856 that "The want of a better moral training in our system of education is already beginning to be felt. It is already to be seen that we have exalted intellectual capacity above moral principles; while virtue ought to be education's paramount object, and ability subordinate. . . . But the best treatises will avail little without living teachers, with a hearty, earnest interest in the promotion of virtue, a sincere delight in noble character, a real passion for moral excellence, for generous, patriotic, honorable action, furnishing in their own persons, examples of the precepts they enjoin. With such teaching and with that best of manuals for teaching morality—the Bible—we may hope to see our youth walking in 'Wisdom's Ways' and growing up as true ornaments and blessings to the community."[100]

[96] *Ann. Rep. Supt. of Com. Sch. of Conn.*, 1855, p. 139.
[97] *Ibid.*, 1855, p. 144.
[98] *Ibid.*, 1855, pp. 174-189.
[99] *Ibid.*, 1856, p. 138.
[100] Barnard, Henry: *Am. Jour. of Ed.*, II, 1856, p. 262.

Hartford in 1857 required daily religious exercises in each school at the commencement of the morning session.[101] David N. Camp, Superintendent of Common Schools in 1858, in reporting upon moral culture, remarked upon the conflicting reports in regard to the influence of public schools. Opinion was divided about their benefits in that matter. The Bible was used in nearly all the common schools of the state. "The daily use of this book," said Camp, "and the recognition of God and his laws, the application of Scripture precepts to the daily conduct of school, and the teaching of Christ and his Apostles brought to the life of each pupil, must strengthen their moral principles, and conduce to the formation of noble, manly, moral characters."[102]

Plainfield suggested in 1858 the use of Cowdery's moral lessons, from which the teacher should read a brief extract each morning. "The stirring narratives warm up the heart, and fit the mind for deep and indelible impressions." The Bible was recommended as the basis of character. It should be the lamp for the feet of childhood.[103] In 1861 Haddam reported that the Bible was read in all their schools, and in several of them the teacher opened the morning session with prayer and closed with singing. In some schools the pupils united with the teacher in repeating the Lord's Prayer; in others each scholar was expected to learn some verse from the Bible daily and be able to repeat it. The visitors stated, it was to be presumed that the teachers availed themselves of varied fit occasions for enforcing the duties of morality and religion.[104]

The writer has treated the development of the common schools at some length in order to bring out the conditions under which Connecticut children were schooled in the first half of

[101] *Rep. of Supt. of Com. Sch. of Conn.*, 1857, p. 117.
[102] *Ibid.*, 1858, p. 39.
[103] *Ibid.*, 1858, p. 48 in Appendix.
[104] *Ibid.*, 1861, p. 70.

the last century. Inasmuch as religious education in the schools had formerly occupied a prominent position, its passing, except for formal Bible reading, hymns, and prayers, as opening and closing exercises, threw the burden of religious training upon the home, the parochial school, the church, and the Sunday schools.

XII.

The Growth of the Catholic School System.

THE number of Catholics in Connecticut up to the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century was negligible. Timothy Dwight, in his *Travels,* published in 1822, in describing the churches of New England mentions one congregation of Catholics in Boston and two in Maine, but gives no account of any in Connecticut.[1] James A. Rooney stated that the history of the organization of the church in Connecticut may be said to date from August 26, 1829, when Rev. Bernard Cavanagh, Hartford's first Catholic pastor, arrived in that city.[2]

Connecticut had been hostile to Catholics from early colonial days. The clergy not infrequently inveighed against them. Connecticut divines rejoiced over the French Revolution as the apparent downfall of the Church of Rome, until it appeared that Jacobinism was not only anti-Catholic but contrary to Christianity at large. Dwight pointed out that the persecution was not falling on Catholics as such, but upon all Christians. "They themselves have often told us their real design. They have ridiculed, denied, and decried *religion as such,* and not as a Catholic System."[3] Nathan Strong remarked in the course of a sermon: "Before I proceed any further to guard myself from any imputation of bitterness against the Roman church, I must observe that I see no reason to conclude there may not have

[1] Dwight, Timothy: *Travels,* IV, p. 455.

[2] Rooney, James A.: "Early Times in the Diocese of Hartford, Conn., 1829-1874," *Catholic Hist. Rev.,* July, 1915, I, p. 148.

[3] Dwight, Timothy: *A discourse on Some Events of the Last Century,* Jan. 7, 1801, p. 54. In his *Travels,* IV, pp. 366-368, Dwight gives a lurid description of the horrors of the French Revolution and the wreck of the Gallic church in the name of Reason.

been many sincere and good people in her communion, especially in that class of persons who had little means of information. Good men may fall into great errors. A great number of the late Roman clergy in France have met death in its most barbarous forms with a constancy and a patience evincing a tender conscience and a love of God."[4]

Unprecedented numbers of immigrants were attracted to this country by the general prosperity in the United States during the second quarter of the last century. The Catholic population in the United States in 1845 was estimated to be 1,071,800.[5] The famine in Ireland in 1846, due to the potato rot, forced a million and a quarter Irish immigrants to seek better living conditions in the United States between the years 1845 and 1851. Most of these Irish people were Catholics. Thus the Irish immigration alone in the five years following 1845 was sufficient to nearly double the Catholic population in the United States.

Ireland sent 3,614 immigrants to America in the year 1820. The number at no time rose above 10,000 until the year 1828, when 12,488 persons from Ireland were received. In the year 1846 the number had increased to 51,752. Due to the potato famine in that year and in the year 1847, there came to American ports 105,535 Irish immigrants in the year 1847. The number did not descend below 100,000 until 1855, when 49,627 arrived. The Irish immigration did not again get above 54,361, the number for 1857, during this period. In 1861 the number fell off to 23,797, due to the influence of the Civil War.

German immigrants coming to America in 1820 numbered 968. From 1830 on, there was a marked increase. The Germans did not, however, come in as large numbers as the Irish in the late forties; but in the year 1852 the number reached 145,918,

[4] Strong, Nathan: *A Sermon preached on the State Thanksgiving,* Nov. 29, 1798, Hartford, pp. 16-17. Yale Pamphlets, No. 1115.

[5] *Catholic Almanac,* 1845, p. 185.

over double the number of the previous year; and in the year 1854 the number was 215,009, followed by a decrease in 1855 to 71,918, increasing to 91,781 in 1857, and decreasing to 31,661 in 1861.[6] In 1851 the number of Germans surpassed the number of Irish. There was, however, a larger number of non-Catholics among the German than among the Irish immigrants. Ireland and Germany furnished nearly all the Catholic immigrants prior to the Civil War.

Connecticut received her share of the immigration coming to the United States in this period. No official account was made of the Catholic population of Connecticut, but the non-naturalized population statistics indicate something of the increase in Catholic numbers, inasmuch as a large part of the immigration of the period was Catholic. In 1820 Connecticut had only 568 foreigners, not naturalized, or about 2.06 per cent.[7] In 1830 there were reported 1,507 foreigners not naturalized, or about 5.06 per cent.[8] No figures were taken on foreigners not naturalized in 1840. In 1844 Catholics in Connecticut are reported to have numbered 4,817.[9] In 1850 the total foreign-born population in Connecticut was 37,473, or 10.10 per cent of the total population. In 1860 the number was 80,696, or 17.54 per cent.[10]

The Catholic church was not slow to assume the obligation to care for the Catholic immigrant and his family. The years from 1830 to 1861 were marked by an earnest effort upon the part of Catholics to establish churches and schools throughout the state. Although the Catholic parochial school system was being rapidly expanded to meet the needs of the growing com-

[6] These figures are from the *Monthly Summary of Commerce and Finance of the U. S.*, Nos. 10-12, 1902-1903, prepared in Bureau of Statistics, p. 4340.

[7] Report of Census, 1820; see Dist. of Conn.

[8] Fifth Census Report, 1830, p. 28. Bishop Fenwick of Boston reported 720 Catholics in Connecticut in 1830. See *Cath. Ency.*, article "Connecticut," p. 257.

[9] *Catholic Ency.*, article, "Connecticut," IV, p. 257.

[10] *Monthly Summary of Commerce and Finance of the U. S.*, Nos. 10-12, 1902-1903, prepared in Bureau of Statistics, p. 4342.

munities at the same time that interest was being excited in the common schools by Henry Barnard and others after 1837 and 1838, the two movements had little in common. Both movements were concerned with the teaching staff, but the Protestants laid emphasis upon better training of teachers, while in the case of the Catholics Burns stated: "It was simply the getting of a sufficient number of teachers with the necessary religious and other qualifications."[11] The same writer remarked: "The Catholic educational movement was not intellectual, but religious."[12] Two errors were commonly made in the controversies regarding common schools and religious instruction therein. The first was to regard the federal or state government as Protestant, and the second was for Protestants to refuse to suppose that some citizens could conscientiously regard the King James version as a sectarian book.[13]

Two Catholic congregations were reported in 1833. One was located at Hartford, Holy Trinity Church served by Rev. James Fitton, and the other at New Haven, under the pastoral care of James McDermott. New Haven had no church at that time and services were held in a public hall.[14] In 1835 Christ's Church in New Haven was mentioned in the bishop's report.[15] The treatment of Catholic children in the common school system was varied, but was marked by a policy of broad understanding and respect for differences of faith. A committee of the First School Society of Hartford, appointed on October 7, 1839, remarked in its report: "The Catholic children, who for a time were collected in a school by themselves, have now returned to the several districts, and are mingled without dis-

[11] Burns, J. A.: *The Growth and Development of the Catholic School System in the U. S.*, p. 19.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 17.

[13] See the New York *Independent*, editorial Feb. 23, 1854, for a good contemporary discussion. For other articles on the use of the Bible in public schools, see *Conn. Com. Sch. Jour.*, 1854, pp. 81-84, 122-125, 184-187, 279-280.

[14] *Catholic Almanac*, 1833, p. 40.

[15] *Ibid.*, 1835, p. 57.

tinction, among those of equal age and improvement. This course has contributed greatly to their improvement, as well as to their apparent good feeling and comfort. They generally appear well and are not wanting in diligence and advancement in their studies."[16] Catholics in Bridgeport were served by the New Haven clergy in 1840.[17] New London Catholics received the help of the Worcester clergy in the following year.[18] The diocese of Hartford was founded in 1844, embracing Rhode Island and Connecticut.

Catholic immigrants, most of whom were unskilled laborers, notwithstanding their poverty, began to establish schools along with their churches. They accepted the double system of schools, Catholic and common, in order to cling to the Catholic principle that the faith to be preserved must be taught by religious teachers in the schools.[19]

Horace Bushnell was one of the foremost protagonists for non-sectarian common schools during the rapid growth of the Catholic population. He was of the opinion that they were necessary for the continuance of a democratic state and was opposed to the Catholic demand for a division of the state revenue for school purposes. Bushnell was strongly anti-Catholic and in 1843 he became interested in the Protestant League which later merged in the Christian Alliance, an anti-Catholic movement. The Christian Alliance later became merged in the Evangelical Alliance, which Bushnell felt compelled to leave, due to its exclusive doctrinal creed. Immigration, Bushnell held, tended to bring on social decline, inasmuch as the newcomers could not bring all their institutions and customs with them and would naturally hesitate to adopt quickly other modes of living and thinking. He urged the quick assimilation of the immi-

[16] *Conn. Com. Sch. Jour.*, Nov. 15, 1840, III, p. 27.
[17] *Catholic Almanac*, 1840, p. 88.
[18] *Ibid.*, 1841, p. 114.
[19] Burns, J. A.: *The Growth and Development of the Catholic School System in the U. S.*, p. 13.

grants. In his address, *Barbarism the First Danger,* he remarked: "If you are half frighted by the cry of Romanism, and half scorn it as a bugbear you will be able to settle yourself into a sober and fixed opinion of the subject, when you perceive that we are in danger first, of something far worse than Romanism, and through that of Romanism itself. Our first danger is barbarism—Romanism next."[20]

Some kind of Catholic church service was conducted in twenty-two towns in Connecticut by 1848. The *Catholic Almanac* for the year reported that Sunday schools were connected with all the churches of the diocese.[21] A Catholic population of 20,000 was reported in the diocese for 1849.[22] A marked increase occurred in Catholic population in Connecticut between reports of the years 1851 and 1852. In the former year 20,000 was given as the Catholic population for the diocese of Hartford, which included Rhode Island. In 1852 the number given was 40,000.[23] This wide difference may be partly accounted for by incomplete records in 1851 or by exaggeration in 1852. There was, however, at this time a notable increase in Catholic population, as these were years of great immigration from Ireland and Germany.

Catholic schools were assuming considerable proportions by 1852. Free schools were organized in connection with the congregations of Hartford, New Haven, and Bridgeport, and the *Almanac* for that year reported: "In a little while [they] will be established in all the congregations of the diocese."[24] In the same year Sunday schools were reported in connection with all the congregations of the diocese, but in the absence of Catholic day schools they were "considered but feeble auxiliaries to

[20] Bushnell, Horace: *Barbarism the First Danger* (1847), p. 5.
[21] *Catholic Almanac,* 1848, p. 222.
[22] *Ibid.,* 1849, p. 209.
[23] *Ibid.,* 1851, p. 175; 1852, p. 174.
[24] *Ibid.,* 1852, p. 174.

Catholic education."[25] St. Mary's Free School for Boys at New Haven cared for about 200 boys. A secular teacher was employed under the supervision of a priest.[26] St. Catherine's Convent began a free school for little girls in New Haven in 1853, and taught about 230 pupils. The Sisters of Mercy located in Hartford in the same year and taught about 200 little girls in their free school.[27] Bridgeport could report a free school well attended in 1853. The report for the year by Bishop O'Reilly stated: "It is to be hoped that schools will, in a little time, be organized in connection with all the congregations in the diocese. If we wish to save to religion and God the rising generation; we will, even at a sacrifice, organize for their education, Catholic schools."

Catholic population steadily increased during the fifties. The report for 1853 stated that the Catholic population of the diocese was upward of 50,000.[28] The next year reported a gain of 5,000.[29]

Bushnell published his *Discourse on The Modifications Demanded by the Roman Catholics,* in 1853, being an address delivered in the North Church at Hartford. In this he pointed out the hesitancy of the Catholic population to support the common school system. "They accept the common rights of the law, the common powers of voting, the common terms of property, a common privilege in the new lands and mines of gold, but when they come to the matter of common schools, they will not be common with us there—they require us, instead, either to give up our common schools, or else, which in fact amounts to the same thing, to hand over their proportion of the public money, and let them use it for such kind of schools as they happen to like best: ecclesiastical schools, whether German,

[25] *Catholic Almanac,* 1852, p. 174.
[26] *Ibid.,* 1853, p. 133.
[27] *Ibid.,* 1853, p. 133.
[28] *Ibid.,* 1853, p. 134.
[29] *Ibid.,* 1854, p. 186.

French or Irish; any kind of schools but such as are American, and will make Americans of their children."[30]

Bushnell did not plead for Puritan common schools; they were already gone. He did not ask for Protestant common schools. What he did insist upon was common schools in which children of all sects could be educated, holding that such a system of schools was the preserver of American liberties.[31] He held that those religionists who were seeking the distribution of the common school funds were really asking for a dismemberment of the civil order of the state, inasmuch as the schoolhouses were public property and the school committees and teachers were as much civil officers as were the constables. Thus paying over public funds to any *imperium in imperio* would make their religion so far substitute for the civil order of the state.[32] "Are we ready," he asked, "as Americans, to yield our institutions up in this manner, or to make them paymasters to a sect who will so far dismember their integrity?"[33]

Bushnell fought for common schools on the ground that they were nurseries of a free republic, while private schools were nurseries of "factions, cabals, agrarian laws and contests of force."[34] He deprecated the class distinctions that private schools engendered and foresaw the wreck of the common school if each denomination were allowed to petition for a *pro rata* share of public school funds. "It will also be demanded, next, that the state shall hold the purse for the followers of Tom Paine, and all other infidels, discharging the bills of schools where Paine's 'Age of Reason,' or the Mormon Bible, or Davis' 'Revelations' are the reading books of the children."[35]

[30] Bushnell, Horace: *A Discourse on the Modifications Demanded by the Roman Catholics,* pp. 1-2.
[31] *Ibid.,* p. 5.
[32] *Ibid.,* pp. 6-7.
[33] *Ibid.,* p. 7.
[34] *Ibid.,* p. 9.
[35] *Ibid.,* p. 11.

The "old school Presbyterian" church six years previously, in its General Assembly, had taken a stand for parochial schools against common schools. Bushnell was fearful lest the movement, if successful, would throw the care of education upon individual parents and result in a discontinuance of common schools and the general neglect of the masses.[36]

Common schools should be maintained, and Bushnell insisted that they should be Christian. He asserted that Catholics had objected to religious instruction within the schools and when such exercises were eliminated, had then condemned the schools as godless or atheistical.[37]

The crux of the situation was how to accommodate the various religious viewpoints in order to preserve the common school system and bring the maximum of religious influence to bear upon the pupils. Bushnell pointed out that there were many ways to accomplish this end, and suggested four methods of procedure:

1. Make the use of the Bible in the Protestant or Douay version, optional.

2. Compile a book of Scripture reading lessons, by agreement from both versions.

3. Provide for religious instruction at given hours, or on a given day, by the clergy, or by qualified teachers such as the parents may choose.

4. Prepare a book of Christian morality, distinct from a doctrine of religion or a faith, which shall be taught indiscriminately to all scholars.[38]

In answer to the Catholic objection that they suffered from double taxation for schools, Bushnell replied that unless they had grievances which justified their withdrawal from the common schools, he rejoiced in it. Quakers were taxed for defect

[36] Bushnell, Horace: *A Discourse on the Modifications Demanded by the Roman Catholics*, p. 11.

[37] *Ibid.*, p. 16.

[38] *Ibid.*, p. 16.

of military service, bachelors because they were without families, and Bushnell asserts, "we ought, much more, to tax the refractory un-American position taken by these Catholic strangers, after we have greeted them with so great hospitality, and loaded them with so many American privileges. If now they will not enter into the great American institution, so fundamental to our very laws and liberties, let them pay for it, and measure their deserts by their dissatisfactions."[39]

Bushnell was a man of influence, and his views carried weight among the clergy and with the educated people generally. His broad understanding of the nature of public schools in a democratic state, his insistence upon proper religious instruction free from sectarian bias, mark him as one of the leaders in a period when intolerance and bigotry were characteristic of both parties in the controversies over common schools.

The question as to which Bible should be used in the religious exercises of the common schools was the subject of no little controversy. A Protestant school board of Waterbury in 1854 advocated that if a school were entirely Catholic, a Catholic version of the Bible should be used.[40] If a majority of a school were Catholic, some educators urged that the Catholic version be used, requiring Protestant children to read a corresponding portion in the King James version. The question was never finally settled, it being left to the discretion of the school committees.

The complication in the matter of religious education in the common schools because of the large number of Catholics now within the state gave added reason for state support and control of education. It cannot be said, however, that Catholicism was one of the initial contributing causes to the decline of the Puritan ideal in common school education and the development

[39] Bushnell, Horace: *A Discourse on the Modifications Demanded by the Roman Catholics,* p. 21.

[40] *Conn. Com. Sch. Jour.,* 1854, p. 124.

of a non-religious, non-sectarian type, the aim of which was to develop an intelligent citizenry in a democratic state. The strife between the Federalist Congregational clergy, representing an aristocratic union of church and state, and the Republican party, in league with the Methodist, Baptist, Episcopal, and other dissenting bodies fighting for separation of church and state, had already decided the issue in favor of education training for citizenship before the Catholic church was on the scene as a force to be considered. Once in the educational arena, however, the Catholic church took a prominent part in the struggle regarding religious instruction in the schools and the apportionment of funds among the various denominations for school purposes.

A non-sectarian type of education in the common schools was inherent in a democratic state where universal manhood suffrage obtained and where public office was open to all citizens. Sooner or later such a system would inevitably come. The state had the added authority of legal machinery to enforce its school provisions. On the other hand, Catholic schools came to be looked upon as private concerns, as they were not founded by the state. The common view among Protestants was that if Catholics desired to maintain parochial schools and thus be taxed double, inasmuch as they were not relieved from the support of the common schools, they might have their desire. Common schools were too important to the state to be crippled by an exemption of the Catholic population from paying taxes.[41]

The view of the Catholic church was that the right and duty of educating children belonged primarily with parents, and as education was essentially a spiritual process, the control of the education of Catholic children rested with the church.[42] The state, in the Catholic conception of education, should fulfill the

[41] Burns, J. A.: *Growth and Development of the Catholic School System in the U. S.*, pp. 220-221.

[42] *Ibid.*, p. 222.

function of the tax gatherer. Education was the work of the spiritual society, as much so as preaching and the administration of the sacraments. All education, as all life, should be religious. Bishop Spaulding of Kentucky, an educational leader in the Catholic church in the fifties, asserted: "We object to the Common School System as established in our free Republic,—freer in everything else than in this,—because it compels us to pay taxes for the support of schools to which we cannot conscientiously send our children. The necessary result is, that we are forced to incur enormous expense of erecting and supporting other schools for their education. . . . We are even antiquated enough in our notions to believe, that it is our sacred duty to rear up our children 'in the discipline and correction of the Lord,' and to bequeath to them, as the most valuable of all legacies, good religious impressions and a sound *religious* education. This is, we are quite sure, the most important element of education—ay, 'the one thing necessary'; and this essential branch of instruction is not, and cannot be taught in our Common Schools, as at present constituted."[43]

The immense numbers of Catholic immigrants crowding to our shores aroused a great deal of antagonism and led to the formation of the "Native American" party, which the Catholics undertook to combat. Fénelon wrote a pamphlet entitled, *Catholicism compatible with Republican Government, and in full Accordance with Popular Institutions* in 1844.[44] Brownson commended this work in an article entitled *Native Americanism,* in which he defended the Catholic position and scored the anti-Catholic party.[45] He asserted that the real objection was not to foreigners as such, "But the real objection lies deeper yet. The Native American party is not a party against admit-

[43] Spaulding, Martin John: *Brownson's Review,* Jan., 1858, pp. 70-71.
[44] New York, 1844.
[45] Brownson, O. A.: "Native Americanism," *Brownson's Quarterly Rev.,* Jan., 1845, *Works,* X, pp. 17-37.

ting foreigners to the rights of citizenship, but simply admitting a certain class of foreigners. It does not oppose Protestant Germans, Protestant Englishmen, Protestant Scotchmen, nor even Protestant Irishmen. It is really opposed to *Catholic* foreigners. . . . When the Catholic Church is in question, all the infidels and nothingarians are sure to sympathize with their Protestant brethren. Pilate and Herod are good friends, when it concerns crucifying the Redeemer of men. This is, perhaps, as it should be. Hence, the great mass of the American people, faithful to their traditions, are unalterably opposed to Catholicity, and it is this opposition that manifests itself in 'Native Americanism,' and which renders it so inexcusable and so dangerous."[46]

Various anti-Catholic pamphlets were circulated in the fifties. The American party in 1855 issued a pamphlet entitled the *Principles and Objects of the American Party,* in which they decried the admission of foreigners and the easy terms upon which aliens became citizens and stood upon an equality with native Americans. They were not hostile to the Roman Church as such. "Americans should govern their own country," was the controlling principle of the party. In the same year, *Young Sam, or, Native Americans' Own Book, containing Principles and Platform on which The Order Stands,* was published in New York by "A Native American." It contained the Philadelphia platform of the American party, which stated as one of its principles: "Resistance to the aggressive policy and corrupt tendencies of the Roman Catholic Church in our country by the advancement to all political stations—executive, legislative, judicial or diplomatic—of those only who do not hold civil allegiance, directly or indirectly, to any foreign power whether civil or ecclesiastical, and who are Americans by birth, education and training—thus fulfilling the maxim, 'Americans only shall govern America.' "[47]

[46] Brownson, O. A.: *Works,* X, pp. 23-24.
[47] *Young Sam,* 1855, p. 7.

Anti-Catholic feeling had increased rapidly during the fifties. The wrath of native Americans was excited by the ease with which immigrants were made voters. Both Whigs and Democrats were fervent in accusations against each other for seeking to win the foreign vote. The Democrats gained and held the vast majority of the foreign Catholic vote.

As the Know Nothing party grew in numbers, it was attacked by the Democratic *New Haven Register,* which asked: "Why are foreigners as a class opposed? By one portion, who depend upon their hands, because the hire of foreigners is supposed to diminish wages; by another portion because their own narrow views lead them to be intolerant. Here, then, come money and religion into politics—two most dangerous elements." The American party was accused of having diverted public attention from the great question before the country and having substituted for the usurpation of slavery the difference between the Douay and the King James versions. Exception was taken because the Know Nothings wished to expel from the common schools "all who will not violate their conscience by substituting one faulty version of the Scriptures for another equally faulty. . . . If the Catholics are attacked now, what assurance is there that the Episcopalians may not be hereafter, and then other sects?"[48]

"Franklin" stated in the *Register* for March 21, 1855, that: "The persecutors of the present day, the Know Nothings, may begin this year against one sect, but if they succeed in their tyranny over that, what hinders them from following up the movement against another and another, till we are brought back to the obsolete and intolerant notions that blackened the pages of the statute books in the early part of the present century."[49]

[48] *N. H. Register,* March 22, 1855.

[49] See also *ibid.,* April 24, 1855. The journals of this period are replete with vitriolic discussion on this subject.

The *Hartford Courant*, the most influential Whig paper in the state, was outspoken in its opposition to the foreign Catholic element in politics. In a leader entitled, "Can a Romish Priest be a true American Citizen?" the *Courant* asserted: "We have among us a class of persons separated by their profession from the rest of the community, owing, as it is asserted, an allegiance to a foreign power in temporal as well as spiritual things, exercising an influence over their ignorant countrymen, which amounts to a complete control of their opinions, principles and actions, which superintends their inmost thoughts and motives, and lays claim to supremacy over every belief and every practice. Under the dictates of this class of powerful individuals, the masses of the same persuasion exercise the right of suffrage and the selection of candidates, and are forbidden to vote otherwise than as a church, which means the Priests choose. Such a control over the political faith or action of American citizens is inconsistent with freedom, with the perpetuity of our institutions, with the existence of salutary laws, with the right of choice inherent in the very nature of our constitution."[50]

The balance of power was believed to hang upon the votes of from three to six thousand Irish citizens, and it was against this handicap in favor of the Democrats that the Whigs and Know Nothings were forced to contend.[51] In 1855 the Know Nothings had a separate ticket for governor and several chief officers, but their ticket also contained many Whig candidates. In many towns two parties combined and the election of April 2, 1855, resulted in a decisive Know Nothing victory over the Democrats. The hopes of the Catholics were dashed, as far as gaining any legislative favors for their school system. The *Courant* stated editorially: "The new American party have rallied under a living principle. They have gone into battle with

[50] *Hartford Courant*, Jan. 10, 1855.
[51] *Ibid.*, March 28, 1855.

the war-cry of 'America for the Americans.' . . . Do any believe that the principle of Americanism—a refusal to be governed by foreigners—a determination not to allow Romanism to decide our elections—will be any less powerful hereafter? We think not as long as Locofoco demagogues can control the 'three thousand' Irish votes in this state, and manufacture new voters by the hundreds every year from the very dregs of European population. . . . So long as the grievance stands, the party will stand."[52]

Catholic schools increased with Catholic population in Connecticut, in spite of opposition by the Whigs and Know Nothings. In 1854 Bishop O'Reilly reported a cathedral school at Hartford with 300 boys in daily attendance. In the same city, St. Patrick's Free School for Boys had an attendance of 200 and St. Joseph's had about 150. Male and female free schools were reported in Hartford, Norwich, New London, New Haven, Bridgeport, and Birmingham, "all in a most flourishing condition, and fully equal to the best State schools." Bishop O'Reilly again urged: "If we wish to save the rising generation to religion and God, we will, even at a sacrifice, give them a thorough Catholic education; nothing short of this will protect youth against error, and save them to religion. Sunday Schools exist in all the congregations in the diocese, and are fairly well attended. As the majority of our children are daily occupied in the factories, the pastors will endeavor to have them attend the Sunday School."[53] Catholic education advanced steadily during the fifties. In 1861 St. Mary's School of New Haven reported 230 boys and 200 girls. St. Patrick's of the same city had 250 boys and 270 girls in attendance.[54] Convents and academies were also established in Hartford and New Haven. The

[52] *Hartford Courant*, April 5, 1855. Especially good material on the election is contained in the March-April issues of the *Register* and *Courant*.

[53] *Catholic Almanac*, 1854, p. 186.

[54] *Ibid.*, 1861, p. 143.

Catholic population for the diocese of Hartford in 1861 was reported to be 100,000; of this number, Connecticut probably had 70,000. Eighty-two Catholic congregations were reported for Connecticut in that year.[55]

At the close of the fifties, the Catholic parochial schools and the common schools paralleled each other. Advocates of the two systems viewed each other with suspicion and with no little religious bigotry on both sides. On the one hand, friends of the common schools felt the need for a whole-hearted support of such institutions as nurseries for children who later on were to be the freemen of a democratic state. On the other hand, the Catholics felt that a proportionate share of the school moneys was unjustly withheld from them. Both parties were steadfast in their religious convictions. Catholics insisted on sending children to their own schools or upon the use of the Douay version of the Scriptures in the common schools. Protestants were equally intent upon the general use of the King James version, although without sectarian instruction. Conflicting Catholic and Protestant claims were left unsettled and have remained to vex the friends of public education to the present time.

[55] *Catholic Almanac*, pp. 143-144.

XIII.

The Theory and Practice of the Protestant Churches 1798-1861.

(a) *Religious Education in the Church prior to the Sunday School Movement.*

RELIGIOUS instruction suffered after the Revolutionary War. Infidelity and indifference had increased, due to the distressing economic situation in this country and the incursions of continental philosophy after the French Revolution. With the growth of sects and the consequent antagonism toward the established Congregational church, more leeway was given to the irreligious and the sceptical. At the same time, there was lacking that sanction for religious instruction which existed when a people of one faith and one church insisted that children should be raised in the nurture and admonition of the Lord.

At the beginning of the last century, even prior to the initiation of the Sunday school movement, the church was active in measures for religious education. The General Association in 1808, in an address on "The Importance of United Endeavours to Revive Gospel Discipline," recommended, in order to promote religious instruction among baptized children, "That Christian parents endeavor to give their children every practicable advantage to become capable of reading the Bible, and of repeating the Assembly's catechism, as early as possible; That they spend, at least, one hour with them, every Sabbath, in prayer, catechising and familiar instruction in the doctrines and duties of religion; That they teach them to sanctify the Lord's Day, by a stated and serious attendance on public worship, reading the scriptures and such other exercises, as are

proper for holy time; That they require them to attend public catechisings till they are fourteen years of age, and thenceforward, during their minority, to attend seasons, that may be appointed by their pastor, for the religious instruction of youth."[1] The Association observed that the free distribution of religious tracts adapted to the capacities of children might be productive of good.[2] Six years after the publication of the address of the General Association upon the subject of religious instruction, Lyman Beecher remarked in a sermon, "The Building of Waste Places," "It would seem proper, where the season will permit, that the children of the congregation (who ought all of them, as far as possible, to attend public worship) be catechised by a committee of the church, in the interval of public worship; and that stated catechetical examinations of all the children of the congregation, be attended by the pastor and a committee of the church at least semi-annually, and if practicable quarterly."[3] When this sermon was published in 1828 he added the footnote, "Since this was written, the system of sabbath schools has more than realized all that at the time had been asked or thought."[4] In the same year that Beecher delivered his sermon upon religious training of the young, the General Association voted "That Messrs. Starr, Whittlesey and H. Ripley be a committee to report on the propriety of recommending a uniformity in our churches respecting the time of communion at the Lord's table, also of the sacramental lecture, concert of prayer, and catechetical instruction."[5] A resolution was also passed "That it be recommended to the several Associations to appoint their lecturers, preparatory to communion,

[1] Address, "The Importance of United Endeavours to Revive Gospel Discipline," *Proc. Conn. Gen. Asso.*, Litchfield, pp. 10-11.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 11.

[3] Beecher, Lyman: *Sermons Delivered on Various Occasions*, p. 121.

[4] *Ibid.* (ed. 1828), footnote, p. 121.

[5] *Proc. Gen. Asso. of Conn.*, June, 1814, p. 8.

on the Friday next preceding the Sabbath on which the sacrament of the Lord's Supper is to be administered at two o'clock p.m." The several associations were recommended to unite in prayer at certain seasons immediately following the preparatory lecture, and, further, "That it be recommended that all, but especially baptized children, be present at such lectures and concerts for prayers."[6]

The churches of Connecticut were well manned at the beginning of the nineteenth century. There were in the state of Connecticut in 1818 about 145 Congregational ministers, 30 Episcopalians, and 62 Baptist ministers. There were, in addition, five or six Independent or Separate ministers, one Sandemanian, and several "fixed Methodist" preachers; a total of about 250 settled ministers. There were also about 50 other public teachers, who were either ministers dismissed in good standing or candidates for the ministry. Some of these were employed in preaching to vacant congregations or as missionaries abroad.[7] Unitarianism was never given the approval in Connecticut it received in Massachusetts. This movement was a kind of eventual repulsion from the excessive theocratic control of early days.

The Bible, the Psalter, and various catechisms continued to be the chief materials of instruction. The General Association in 1813 voted that a committee be appointed "to compose or collect some suitable forms of prayer for the use of families and others upon the subject of family prayer."[8] The following year, however, they discharged the committee from any further attention to the subject.[9] Howard records that at the beginning of the nineteenth century Rev. Thomas Gallaudet could discover only thirteen books for children, inclusive of such vol-

[6] *Proc. Gen. Asso. of Conn.*, June, 1814, p. 9.
[7] Trumbull, Benjamin: *Hist. of Conn.*, II, p. 548.
[8] *Minutes of Gen. Asso.*, June, 1813, p. 9.
[9] *Proc. of Gen. Asso.*, June, 1814, p. 7.

umes as *Goody Two Shoes, Blue Beard,* and *Who Killed Cock Robin.*[10]

Hymnology was steadily improving. The *Hartford Selection of Hymns* was published in 1799 under the editorship of Rev. Nathan Strong, pastor of the First Church, and two other Hartford pastors, Abel Flint and Joseph Steward. A second edition was published three years later. An eighth edition appeared in 1821. These hymns were especially selected for use in revival services and contained many solemn warnings. Timothy Dwight, having been requested by the General Association of Connecticut, published his *Psalms of David* in 1801 in Hartford. The volume contained not only a paraphrase of the psalms but also two hundred and sixty-three hymns, one hundred and sixty-eight of which were from Watts.

These works were followed in 1815 by Dr. Samuel Worcester's *Christian Psalmody,* which contained many of Watts' hymns and a number by other authors. A storm of protest arose from those who were attached to Watts' selection and wished no other. Consequently Dr. Worcester reprinted the book in 1819 with Watts entire and a number of others, under the title *Watts and Select Hymns.* His son, Samuel M. Worcester, in republishing the collection in 1834, remarked in the preface that "This edition will be found especially enriched with hymns, which relate to the life and glory of Christ,—the alarming condition of the unconverted,—the feelings of the converted and the penitent,—the diversities of Christian experience,—the benevolent operations of the Church,—the institutions and advances of the gospel,—the times and seasons,—more particularly, the solemn periods of sickness and death, eternity and judgment." A collection entitled *Village Hymns* was published about 1824 by Rev. Asahel Nettleton, a Congregational minister of Connecticut, and contained the works of many American

[10] Howard, Philip E.: *The Life Story of Henry Clay Trumbull,* p. 150.

hymn writers. The sixth edition appeared in 1826 and the eighth in 1836. The editor made several mistaken ascriptions such as crediting "Jesus, Lover of my Soul," to Cowper, and "Love divine, all love excelling," to Whitefield, both of which were the products of Charles Wesley's pen. There is no doubt that music in the churches had steadily improved throughout the eighteenth century, both through the introduction of new and better hymn books and by reason of the renewal of the practice of singing by note.

If the hymnology of a people is a trustworthy source from which we may infer the nature of their religious thought and aspiration, the hymns in early Connecticut homes and churches reveal to us a sober and often sombre religious life. Songs abounded in all the early hymnals dealing with death and the torments beyond the grave. Editors would leave out songs like Wesley's "Love divine, all love excelling," "Hark, the herald angels sing" and print his melancholy lines,

> With solemn delight I survey
> The corpse where the spirit is fled,
> In love with the beautiful clay,
> And longing to lie in its stead.

Although the pages of ancient hymnals contain many lugubrious compositions, they nevertheless contained many songs of great poetic beauty and inspiring thought.

Not only did the serious-minded people of Connecticut attempt to provide religious instruction for their own children, but they also carried on an experiment in missionary education at Cornwall from May, 1817, until 1827. A school was established for the purpose of fitting foreign youth to become "missionaries, schoolmasters, interpreters, and physicians among heathen nations: and to communicate such information in agriculture and the arts as should tend to promote Christianity and

civilization." A farm and suitable buildings were devoted to the uses of this Foreign Mission School. In 1822 the students numbered 34, coming from the leading eastern Indian tribes and from some of the Pacific Islands.[11]

The materials for religious instruction were supplemented by periodicals of the day. The *Connecticut Evangelical Magazine,* founded in 1800 for the twofold purpose of disseminating religious knowledge and of raising money for the support of missions in the new settlements and among the Indian tribes, contained frequent articles on the religious training of the young.[12] In 1823 six religious periodicals were listed in Connecticut: two pamphlets, the *Christian Spectator* and the *Youth's Guardian,* and also the *Religious Intelligencer* and the *Sunday School Repository* at New Haven; and at Hartford one pamphlet, the *Churchman's Magazine,* and the *Christian Secretary,* a Baptist publication.[13]

On January 4, 1825, the first issue of the *Connecticut Observer* appeared. The paper purported to contain "1.—A relation of the most interesting religious intelligence. 2.—A record of the leading political events, foreign and domestic. 3.—An illustration of the doctrines and duties of the churches, planted by our fathers. 4.—An illustration and defence of the cause of missions, and of the benevolent institutions of the age. 5.—Interesting articles of literary intelligence; biographical notices, and anecdotes. 6.—Explanations of the most important texts, by which the doctrines of the Gospel are supported. Short lectures, designed to guard the young against the dangers, and to prepare them for the duties of the age, in which they live."[14] The "advocates of error" had availed themselves of the newspaper and the tract, and the attack had suggested the means of

[11] Gold, Theodore S.: *Hist. Rec. of the Town of Cornwall,* p. 29.
[12] See issue of May, 1804, pp. 401-412, and April, 1806, pp. 384-388.
[13] *The Christian Almanac,* 1824, p. 34.
[14] *Conn. Observer,* Jan. 4, 1825, p. 1.

defense. The newspaper was to be made the ally of the church. This paper continued from January 4, 1825, until December 24, 1836.

The teaching of the churches continued to be characterized by its strenuous Calvinistic severity. A vote of the East Granby Congregational Church on August 30, 1816, is fairly typical of the religious theory of the day. Professing Christians of other denominations were admitted to occasional communion, for a period of time which had been limited by a preceding vote, "provided they cordially believe what are commonly called the doctrines of grace. Such as total depravity, regeneration by special grace, justification by faith in Christ, the saints' perseverance, particular election, etc."[15]

Methods of religious instruction within the churches were restricted almost exclusively to drill upon catechisms containing Biblical materials and upon the Scriptures themselves. It remained for the Sunday school movement to introduce new methods and suitable materials in more nearly adequate quantities.

(b) *Voluntary Organizations of a Religious or Philanthropic Nature.*

Voluntary associations of a religious and philanthropic nature were a characteristic of the religious life of the first half of the nineteenth century. The social viewpoint of men had broadened and they were becoming increasingly interested in society in its entirety as well as in saving their own souls. General information was widely disseminated by means of the daily press and periodicals. In the face of many defects in popular education of children, there was nevertheless an increased consciousness of its necessity. The Connecticut Society for the Promotion of Good Morals, the Connecticut Bible Society, the

[15] *Rec. of Congregational Church in Turkey Hills, now the Town of East Granby, Conn.*, 1776-1858, pub. by A. C. Bates, 1907, p. 69.

Domestic Missionary Society for Connecticut and Vicinity, chartered in 1816, and the New England Tract Society, which established a branch in Connecticut, and various local temperance societies organized about 1815, all exercised an influence upon the moral and religious life of the day. The General Association for 1831 stated, "the Bible, and Tract, and Missionary Cause, as well as the cause of other benevolent institutions, is continually exciting a deeper interest, and taking a stronger hold of the affections of a larger proportion of the members of our churches."[16]

The Missionary Society of Connecticut was organized in 1798. The constitution of the society was passed by the General Association of that year at Hebron.[17] Its labors were largely in Vermont and New York, and extended as far south as Virginia and as far west as the territory which became Ohio. Books sent to the new settlements in the course of the year 1813-1814 included 362 copies of Beecher's *Sermon on the Divine Government*, 300 of the *Summary of Christian Doctrines*, 283 of Emerson's *Evangelical Primer*, 216 numbers of the *Connecticut Evangelical Magazine* and *Religious Intelligencer*, 181 of *Porter's Sermon on Intemperance*, 134 of Doddridge's *Rise and Progress*, 114 *Religious Tracts*, 108 of Watts' *Divine Songs*, 100 New Haven tracts, 81 *Hartford Selection of Hymns*, 57 missionary narratives, 50 of Henry on *Prayer*, 45 of Trumbull on *Divine Revelation*, 44 *Hymns for Infant Minds*, 36 of Dwight's *Psalms and Hymns*, and other similar publications. By the year 1814 the total number sent to the settlements was 26,886.[18]

The Connecticut Bible Society, which was organized in May, 1809, had purchased at the time of the report of the directing

[16] *Proc. Gen. Asso.*, 1831, p. 13.

[17] *An Act to Incorporate the Trustees of the Miss. Soc. of Conn.*, with an address printed by Hudson and Goodwin, 1803, p. 1.

[18] *Fifteenth Annual Account of the Missionary Labors . . . of Missionary Society of Conn.*, Hartford, 1814, pp. 27-28.

committee on May 12, 1814, the number of 10,723 Bibles, of which 5,914 were distributed in Connecticut. The rest were sent to all the states of New England and as far distant as Washington City and the Ohio Valley.[19] This society coöperated with the Missionary Society as well as with other organizations. The report of the trustees of the latter organization to the General Association of Connecticut in 1814 mentions 348 Bibles received from the Connecticut Bible Society.[20] Churches of various denominations aided the work of the society. It was able to report in May, 1817, that "The union of several denominations, in the benevolent work of circulating the holy scriptures, is noticed with special satisfaction. To give the Bible without note or comment is a leading principle of Bible Societies. This forms one point in which all may unite, who believe in the divine inspiration of those writings. Accordingly, we find that protestants of various names, and some Catholics, have assisted in this work."[21]

The Missionary Society sought to build up church societies in isolated localities as well as to found new work. The trustees stated in 1813 that "Not only are the frontier settlements of the United States destitute of gospel ordinances, but in the old settlements, even in those which are most favored with religious privileges, many societies have become disorganized and desolate. Societies, which once were prosperous and rejoiced in the approach of the Lord's Day, with its privileges, have lost every semblance of piety, except what is seen in the lamentations of a few in the midst of them, who sigh and cry for the abominations which prevail."[22]

The Connecticut Society for the Promotion of Good Morals

[19] *Report of Directing Committee of Conn. Bible Society,* May 12, 1814, pp. 9-10.

[20] *Proc. Gen. Asso.,* June, 1814, p. 5.

[21] *Eighth Rep. of Conn. Bible Soc.,* May, 1817, pp. 5-6.

[22] *A Missionary Address from the Trustees of the Missionary Society of Connecticut,* Hartford, 1813, p. 3.

was founded May 19, 1813.[23] Moral societies of various sorts were reported in the Association of Tolland and in the New Haven East Association in the year 1814.[24] Such organizations were formed extensively throughout the state.[25]

A general missionary impulse was felt in the United States in the first two decades of the last century. The American Board was organized in 1810, the Baptist Board of Missions in 1814, the United Foreign Mission Society in 1817, the Methodist Mission Society in 1819, and the Protestant Episcopal Mission Society in 1820.[26]

The American Tract Society, in its fifteenth annual report, recorded donations for gratuitous distribution of 25,000 pages to the Brookline Tract Depository in Connecticut.[27] Fourteen depositories of the society were located in Connecticut in 1829.[28] This society had numerous tracts for distribution among children for their spiritual edification. Among these were, *Address to a Child, Goodness of Providence, A Child's Catechism, Mischief its own Punishment*, and many others.[29] Parents were urged to procure tracts for children. "In what way can a parent lay out three dollars for his children to greater advantage, or with a greater prospect of promoting their salvation, than in furnishing them with six volumes of tracts."[30] The society announced a tract in 1821 whose second part was entitled, "A Memorial for Sunday School Boys," and whose third part was called, "A Memorial for Sunday School Girls."[31] An instance of the influence of tracts upon children is recorded as follows,

[23] Beecher, Lyman: *Sermons in North Presbyterian Church, Hartford*, 1813.
[24] *Proc. Gen. Asso.*, 1814, p. 15.
[25] Hibbard, A. G.: *Hist. of Goshen*, pp. 253-254.
[26] *The Christian Almanac*, 1822, p. 21.
[27] *Fifteenth Ann. Rep. of Am. Tract Soc.*, 1829, p. 7.
[28] *Ibid.*, p. 9.
[29] *Ibid.*, p. 44.
[30] *Seventh Ann. Rep. of New England Tract Soc.*, May, 1821, p. 4. See also *Ninth Ann. Rep. of Am. Tract Soc.*, 1823, p. 65.
[31] *Seventh Ann. Rep. of New England Tract Soc.*, May, 1821, p. 29.

"The Tract, entitled 'Sixteen Short Sermons,' was handed by an aged lady in this state to a little boy. He read till he came to third sermon, which is from this text, 'All have sinned, and come short of the glory of God.' This appeared to be for *him*. . . . He became deeply distressed and began, from that time, to search the scriptures daily and to seek the salvation of his soul."[32]

The tract societies flourished in a day when social intercourse was limited by slow means of communication and when there were few newspapers. At the annual meeting of the Connecticut Board of the American Tract Society in 1825 it was reported that 14,816 tracts were distributed within the year.[33] In addition to the American tract societies the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge sent quantities of literature to this country during this period. The existence of these societies bears witness to the need of materials for religious instruction. The voluntary organizations were of immense benefit in disseminating religious knowledge during the years in which the Sunday school was in process of development. There was perhaps more than enthusiasm in the statement that "Thousands of the people of God shall be gladdened by your endeavors; hundreds of thousands of children and youth shall read of a Savior and him crucified, and receive impressions which they can never forget."[34] The annual report of the society for 1826 bears an advertisement of the Massachusetts Sunday School Union, asserting that "The Depository of this Union is now kept in the same room with the Depository of the American Tract Society. In this Depository will be kept a constant supply of all the publications of the American Sunday School Union, instituted at Philadelphia." The society asserted, of its two systems of Sabbath school and religious tracts, that they were

[32] *Ninth Ann. Rep. of Am. Tract Soc.*, 1823, p. 30.
[33] *Conn. Observer*, Jan. 11, 1825, p. 2.
[34] *Eleventh Ann. Rep. of Am. Tract Soc.*, 1825, pp. 6-7.

calculated to remove from society its burden of ignorance and vice, the latter "to remove what lies upon the present generation, the former to prevent what would otherwise be accumulating upon the next."[35] The fourteenth annual report of the society records an incident of a pious woman, who conveyed the tract, *On Family Worship*, into a family where worship was neglected, with the effect that the family altar was erected.[36]

The society in 1829 advertised five series of booklets for children, composed of a total of fifty-two tracts. *The Christian Reader*, intended for use in the schools, was made up of a selected number of children's tracts. The American Tract Society also published many larger books. An interesting example is *The Young Lady's Guide To The Harmonious Development of Christian Character*, by Harvey Newcomb, published in 1853. The chapters in this book give an idea of the character of the tract literature of the first half of the last century. They are: True Religion Progressive, Doctrinal Knowledge, Nature and Effects of True Religion, Charity, Harmony of Christian Character, Reading and Study of the Bible, Prayer, Temptation, Self Denial, Public and Social Worship, and Sabbath Employment, Meditation, On Health, Mental Cultivation, Reading, Improvement of Time—Present Obligation, Christian Activity, Dress, Social and Relative Duties, Marriage, Submission and Contentment, Dependence, Self-Examination, An Address on Female Education.[37]

The various philanthropic, missionary, and religious publication societies undoubtedly made an important contribution to the religious life of the early nineteenth century.

[35] *Twelfth Ann. Rep. of Am. Tract Soc.*, 1826, p. 14.

[36] *Fourteenth Ann. Rep. of Am. Tract Soc.*, 1828, p. 17.

[37] *Fifteenth Ann. Rep. of Am. Tract Soc.*, May 27, 1829; see cover advertisement. A good account of the work of this society is contained in a *Report of the Special Committee Appointed At The Annual Meeting of the American Tract Society, May 7, 1857, etc.*

(c) *Revivals.*

Revivals became one of the outstanding features of church life following the "Great Awakening" of 1740, and continued to be so throughout the first half of the nineteenth century. They were looked upon as periods of refreshing and as special manifestations of divine grace. Ministers depended upon them to augment the membership of their churches.

Lyman Beecher represented the current practice regarding revivals when in 1824 he remarked: "The revival . . . is probably, for the time, nearly concluded. There are one or two districts where I shall make an effort, and then the whole ground will have been gone over, and will probably yield no more fruit at present; so I shall soon organize a Bible-class, and endeavor to make the most of what we have gained, and to prepare the way for another onset as soon as new materials shall rise up, which will not be long. . . . After one battle and victory, it remains to clear the decks and prepare for another."[38] The pages of the *Connecticut Evangelical Magazine,* begun in 1800, contained numerous accounts of these periods of special religious interest.

Bennett Tyler in 1845 wrote a volume entitled *New England Revivals, as they existed at the close of the Eighteenth and the beginning of the Nineteenth Centuries.* The material for this volume was taken very largely from the *Connecticut Evangelical Magazine.* He stated that, commencing with 1797, within a period of five or six years not less than one hundred and fifty churches had been visited by religious awakenings.[39]

"These revivals," he remarked, "were not temporary excitements, which, like a tornado, sweep through the community, and leave desolation behind them; but were like showers of rain, which refresh the dry and thirsty earth, and cause it to

[38] Beecher, Charles: *Autobiography, Correspondence, etc., of Lyman Beecher,* II, pp. 32-33.

[39] Tyler, Bennett: *New England Revivals,* 1845, p. v.

bring forth 'herbs meet for them by whom it is dressed.' Their fruits were permanent."[40] Tyler asserted that the pastors were aware of the fanaticism which followed the "Great Awakening" of the period of Whitefield and Edwards, and of the bad reaction upon the churches.[41] Consequently some effort was made to avoid the irregularities of that period and to escape unfavorable reaction.

A general unanimity existed among the ministers as to the doctrines preached. They dwelt much upon the doctrines of grace, repudiation of all reliance upon good works as a ground for saving hope, necessity of the special agency of the Holy Spirit in regeneration, total depravity, justification by faith alone, and the sovereignty of God.[42]

Few years passed when revivals in some town or towns were not made the cause of special rejoicing and thanksgiving. The General Association at its annual meeting in June of each year received a report from a committee on the state of religion in the churches. The year 1816 was distinguished by revivals of religion.[43] Revivals in many towns were recorded in 1818.[44] Two years later, from about two hundred Congregational churches and societies within the state, the committee was able to report that eighty-four had been visited with revivals, resulting in the conversion of about five thousand souls.[45] The revival was so widespread that the committee remarked "the days of 1740 have returned with a brighter lustre."[46] The next year the committee reported embarrassment that the Holy Spirit was in a great measure withdrawn; nevertheless, they were able to mention several revivals.[47] Revivals were also reported for the

[40] Tyler, Bennett: *New England Revivals*, 1845, p. vii.
[41] *Ibid.*, p. viii.
[42] *Ibid.*, p. ix.
[43] *Proc. of Gen. Asso.*, 1816, p. 14.
[44] *Ibid.*, 1818, p. 15.
[45] *Ibid.*, 1821, p. 13.
[46] *Ibid.*, 1821, p. 16.
[47] *Ibid.*, 1822, p. 11.

two following years.[48] The year ending June, 1825, however, seemed one of indifference.[49] A number of revivals were recorded in 1828, in 1829, in 1830, and in 1831. The state of religion in the churches was such that the committee found exceptional cause for rejoicing in 1832, followed by lessened religious fervor in 1833, although some revivals were recorded in the latter year.[50] The Sunday schools had an influence upon those coming into the churches through revivals.

Sunday schools were now playing an important part in revivals. The managers of the Connecticut Sunday School Union stated in 1827 that in the preceding year many persons of both sexes had been converted.[51] The Hartford County Sabbath School Union reported in 1830: "Of the fruits of revivals, in the churches of this County, within the three last years, by far the greater part are those who have been regular attendants upon Bible Class or Sabbath School instruction, or who have themselves been engaged in teaching."[52]

The extent to which revivals were looked upon as a measure of Divine Grace is brought out in the records of the General Association. In 1836, when there were few revivals, the committee upon the state of religion reported that there was "an almost universal suspension of special divine influence." The church was emphasizing sudden conversion of the revivalistic type rather than methods of nurture and instruction.

Religious indifference in the year 1849, although revivals were reported in several towns, called forth resolutions from the General Association "That in the belief of this Association, there is, among the inhabitants of our state, an extensive and

[48] *Proc. Gen. Asso.*, 1823, pp. 13-14; 1824, p. 21.

[49] *Ibid.*, 1825, p. 12.

[50] *Ibid.*, 1828, p. 20; 1829, p. 13; 1830, p. 17; 1831, p. 13; 1832, p. 15; 1833, p. 14. *The Christian Almanac* for 1832, p. 21, mentions 1831 as a year distinguished for religious revivals.

[51] *Third Ann. Rep. Conn. S. S. Union*, 1827, p. 14.

[52] *Third Ann. Rep. Hartford Co. S. S. Union*, 1830, p. 6.

alarming neglect of the public worship of God upon the Sabbath. . . . That we deem this evil an increasing one, and that it portends danger to the interests of evangelical religion, sound morals, and good order in our commonwealth, and to the immortal interests of multitudes neglecting the sanctuary on the Sabbath."[53] The association directed a survey to be made of conditions and a report about them at the next annual meeting. The following year, 1850, the committee stated that "after a painful period of spiritual drought, through the last few years, the clouds of mercy have returned." Many churches were enumerated as having experienced a season of refreshing.[54] The same condition prevailed in the two following years, although in 1852 the association deplored the neglect of public worship.[55] The year 1853 was not distinguished by manifestations of renewed spiritual life among the churches. The temperance cause was nevertheless reported as gaining strength.[56] The committee in 1855 reported an unusual number of revivals, and the next year were able to report twenty-six.[57]

A revival movement throughout the state signalized the year 1858. In Windham County the number of conversions was reported as not less than 650. The committee quoted some church which reported, "Even the little girls, who have learned to love the Saviour, have established their prayer meetings, and lads of ten and twelve years have done their part in the gathering for social prayer." New Haven East Association reported 720 conversions; the New Haven Central between 500 and 600. One hundred and fifteen students of Yale College were mentioned as "hopefully converted." Hartford North Association had 189 conversions, while the Hartford Fourth could report between 500 and 600. Correspondingly large numbers were

[53] *Min. Gen. Asso.*, 1849, p. 13.
[54] *Ibid.*, 1850, p. 6.
[55] *Ibid.*, 1851, p. 19; 1852, p. 14.
[56] *Ibid.*, 1853, pp. 16-17.
[57] *Ibid.*, 1855, pp. 15-16; 1856, p. 16.

reported from other associations. The committee noted that the revivals were characterized by a freedom from extravagant excitement. In spite of the seeming religious gains, the cause of temperance was reported to have made no progress in 1858.[58]

Throughout this whole period, 1798-1861, revivals were a prominent characteristic of church life. Dependence upon these seasons of special visitation lessened the emphasis upon religious nurture and instruction. Rev. Charles N. Fitch remarked upon this aspect of the problem: "Being 'addicted' to revivals has, however, one drawback if it becomes the master habit of a church, that is, it will be likely to overlook the need of training in christian work and developing in practical righteousness, those confessedly immature 'plants of righteousness' whose growth has been started by hot house methods."[59]

(d) *The Rise of the Sunday Schools.*

The outstanding feature of the history of religious education in America in the early nineteenth century was the development of the Sunday school. In a day when catechetical instruction was ceasing to occupy the place it formerly held, the Sunday school came to assume full responsibility for the moral and spiritual training of the young outside the home.

Robert Raikes of England in 1781 devised a type of Sunday school intended to care for the children of the most vicious and abandoned classes. Reading, writing, and the elements of religion were taught. In addition to the hired teachers employed, these schools very early attracted the attention of people of means and leisure, who gave their services in a voluntary capacity. The schools were not distinctly religious, however, and as a rule were not connected with any church.

The Sunday school movement in the United States has been

[58] *Min. Gen. Asso.*, 1858, pp. 19-20.
[59] Gold, T. S.: *Hist. Rec. of the Town of Cornwall*, pp. 142-143.

characterized by its religious nature and by voluntary unpaid teachers.[60] Control of the schools has from the beginning been largely in the hands of churches. There was danger that Sunday schools would be considered for the children of the lower classes only, as was the case in England. Prejudice and sectarianism, with the consequent clash of religious opinion, hindered their growth. Many refused to send their children to these schools upon the supposition that they were only for the lowest classes in the community, as in fact they had been in England. In order to overcome this prejudice Lyman Beecher and others sent their children to the Sunday schools and exerted their influence to have all classes participate in their exercises.

The American Sunday School Union, formed in 1824, was the greatest agency in the promotion of Sunday schools throughout this period. The union took upon itself the twofold task of multiplying Sunday schools and publishing suitable lesson materials. In carrying out its purpose of increasing the number of schools, the union supported missionaries who organized state Sunday school unions, which in turn organized county and town unions. The publication of suitable lesson materials for the moral and religious instruction of children of Sunday

[60] One of the first schools of the sort in this country was that of Bishop Asbury of Virginia in 1783. Samuel Slater, a prominent cotton manufacturer, established a similar one in Pawtucket, R. I., in 1797. In Philadelphia, "First Day" schools were established in 1791, with considerable religious instruction introduced into the teaching materials. A poor African woman, named Katy Ferguson, not knowing of similar efforts in other localities, opened a Sunday school in New York City in 1793. In 1796 a Sabbath school for purely secular instruction was incorporated. In 1807 one of the first Sabbath school societies in connection with a church was formed at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, which conducted a school of 240 scholars. The First Day or Sunday School Society, formed in Philadelphia on Jan. 11, 1791, is the first permanent organization established for the extension of Sunday schools in the United States. There followed the New York Sunday School Union, instituted on Feb. 26, 1816, and the Philadelphia Sunday and Adult School Union on May 26, 1817. These three societies were local in their operations, and in response to a demand the Philadelphia Sunday and Adult School Union on May 25, 1824, became absorbed in the American Sunday School Union.—Article, "Sunday Schools and the American Sunday School Union," *Am. Jour. of Ed.*, XV, 1865, pp. 705-708.

school age soon grew to be an enormous enterprise with distributing agencies in many states.

The American Sunday School Union preserved two features of the older Philadelphia and Adult School Union, namely, the policy of having laymen on the various boards and the principle of selecting officials from different evangelical denominations.

The use of Sunday for religious instruction in Connecticut not only sprang up independently of Raikes' work but in certain cases schools held for religious instruction on Sabbath days actually antedated his efforts. Rev. Joseph Bellamy conducted a school for religious instruction on the Sabbath in 1740. Rev. E. H. Byington stated in 1865 that it "continues unto this day."[61] Rev. Thomas Robbins, in 1850, in giving the testimony of a parishioner of Dr. Bellamy, stated that he was accustomed to meet the youth, "not merely for a catechetical exercise but for a recitation from the Bible, in connection with which he communicated, in a way admirably adapted to the capacities of the young, much important instruction."[62] In Washington, Connecticut, in 1781, the elders of the church gathered the children about them on the green in the intermission between services on summer Sabbath days and instructed them in the Assembly's Catechism and Biblical lore.[63] Rev. H. Beebe of New Haven stated in the Sabbath School Teachers' Convention of 1857 that he had read a vote passed by a church in Litchfield, Connecticut, in 1805, to the effect that members should send their children to Sabbath school until they were fourteen years of age, and that the weekly prayer meeting of the church should pay special attention to the Sabbath school.[64]

[61] Byington, Rev. E. H.: "Historical View of Sabbath Schools," *The Congregational Quarterly*, VII, 1865, p. 21.

[62] Sprague, William Buell: *Annals of the American Pulpit*, I, p. 410.

[63] *Am. Jour. of Ed.*, XV, 1865, pp. 705-706.

[64] *Rep. of Doings of First State Convention of S. S. Teachers*, 1857, p. 43. This report is rare. A copy is in possession of the Conn. S. S. Asso., Hartford.

In the minutes of the convention of 1858, S. S. Baldwin of Washington, Connecticut, professed to have the honor of representing the oldest Sabbath school in Connecticut. He stated that "As early as 1803 Rev. Dr. Porter kept a list of those in this School who committed to memory the whole of the Assembly's Catechism, and had them noted on the records of the church. In after years, it appeared that nearly all who joined the church were from the Sabbath School; and so, following down revival after revival, it seems that at least eight, perhaps nine-tenths of all uniting with the church, are from the Sabbath School."[65]

A custom prevailed in many Connecticut schools for the Saturday morning lesson periods to be given over for drill in the Assembly's Catechism or for other religious exercises. Not infrequently portions of early New England history, with religious lessons drawn therefrom, would enrich this spiritual "milk for babes." On Sundays heads of families were wont to gather their servants and children around them for religious instruction, to ground them in "the principles of religion" or to teach them at least "some short orthodox catechism." Ministers would catechize the young in the churches on Sabbath days or in the weekly lecture periods, which usually occurred on Thursday.

A noticeable development occurred in the Sunday school movement in Connecticut after 1815. Derby First Society Sunday School was established in 1816; Glastonbury, New Hartford, Woodbury, and Litchfield in 1817; Somers, South Farms, Hartford Center, Hartford Baptist, Bristol, Canton, and Southington in 1818; Branford, North Guilford, and Haddam in 1819; Windham in 1821; Madison in 1822; Brooklyn in 1823; and New Haven Baptist, Pomfret, and Plainfield in 1825. In April of the same year an African Sunday school was organized

[65] *Rep. of Doings of Second State Convention of S. S. Teachers*, 1858, p. 19.

at New Haven. In 1826 Fair Haven, Middlebury, Goshen, Killingworth, and Warren instituted Sunday schools.[66] Growth in these years is indicated by the fact that the General Association in 1819 for the first time mentioned such schools. The minutes for that year record that "Sabbath Schools are generally introduced into our congregations."[67] An increase was noticed in 1820.[68] The committee on the state of religion in 1821 reported that the recent awakening had given new impulse to all "operations of Christian benevolence within the state," which probably included Sunday schools.[69] Two years later the committee stated that Sabbath schools were generally maintained in the religious societies and the committee trusted "that the importance of teaching the principles of religion and morality to the rising generation, is in a good measure realized."[70] In reviewing the state of religion in 1826, the General Association mentioned the Connecticut Sunday School Union, founded in 1824, as occupying a prominent place among the benevolent institutions.[71] At the same time the association recommended the establishment of Sunday schools in every church society within their connection and resolved that Sunday school libraries were such an important part of the instruction that they deemed it desirable to have such a library in connection with every Sunday school in the state.[72] In the year 1827, although few revivals occurred, nevertheless the committee on the state of religion were able to report a rapidly growing interest in Sunday schools, "those mighty engines of good to the rising generation."[73] The influence of Sunday

[66] *Third Ann. Rep. Conn. S. S. Union*, 1827, pp. 25-37.
[67] *Proc. Gen. Asso.*, 1819, p. 14.
[68] *Ibid.*, 1820, p. 23.
[69] *Ibid.*, 1821, p. 16.
[70] *Ibid.*, 1823, p. 12.
[71] *Ibid.*, 1826, p. 13.
[72] *Ibid.*, 1826, p. 7.
[73] *Ibid.*, 1827, p. 15.

schools is mentioned frequently in the volumes of the *Christian Almanac* in the fourth decade of the last century.[74]

The Connecticut Sunday School Union was established in 1824 as an auxiliary of the American Sunday School Union. Nathaniel W. Taylor held the office of president, and Timothy Dwight that of vice-president. The union sought to promote the opening of new schools and to increase the attendance of old schools within Connecticut; to form depositories for supplying the schools with suitable books at the lowest rates possible; and to encourage those who were interested in the instruction of children.[75]

After three years of work the Connecticut Sunday School Union was able to report great progress. The managers stated: "The eyes of the Christian public are open on this subject; and those who a few years since doubted and hesitated are now active and efficient friends."[76] Eighty auxiliaries, 1,600 teachers, all of whom were unpaid, and 10,000 scholars were reported.[77] In 1828 the number of schools in connection with the union was 147. The schools are reported to have been composed of 150 superintendents, 3,040 teachers, 16,922 scholars,—a total of 20,112, an increase of more than 8,000 over the preceding year. Of these, over 500 had made a public profession of religion and one-half of the number had been added to the church during the year.[78] In May, 1829, the number of schools within the union reached 160, with 3,744 officers and teachers and 20,000 scholars. In May of the following year, 200 schools, 4,470 officers and teachers, and 23,825 scholars, a total of 28,295, were reported. In addition, there were about 50 schools outside the union, having an enrollment of approximately 2,500

[74] Issues of 1835, pp. 42-44; 1836, pp. 43-44; *The Family Christian Almanac*, 1842, p. 28.

[75] *Third Ann. Rep. Conn. S. S. Union*, 1827, p. 38.

[76] *Ibid.*, 1827, p. 12.

[77] *Ibid.*, 1827, p. 13.

[78] *Fourth Ann. Rep. Conn. S. S. Union*, 1828, p. 13.

teachers and scholars. Among the teachers and pupils there were 430 who had during the year 1829-1830 "become hopeful subjects of renewing grace."[79]

The third annual report contained two courses of Scripture lessons, one of which was recommended by the Hartford Association of Teachers. Each contained fifty-two lessons.[80]

Alfred Andrews, the first secretary of the Wethersfield and Berlin Sunday School Union, formed in 1832, stated that at an early Sunday school established in 1815 "the custom was to learn as many verses, chapters, etc., as possible, for which a premium was given."[81]

A small periodical for Sunday school pupils was started in New Haven in 1823, called *The Teacher's Offering,* which was later bought by the Sunday School Union and published as the *Youth's Friend.* Howard asserts it attained a circulation of 13,000.[82] The American Sunday School Union published a periodical entitled *The Sunday School Teacher's Magazine.*[83]

A development gradually took place in the materials used in the conduct of the Sunday schools. The practice of having the same portion of Scripture memorized by the whole school gave way to a series of selections from Biblical history, comprising 47 lessons of 10 to 20 verses each, printed upon cards. The American Sunday School Union began the publication of a series of question books in 1827. These *Union Questions* were calculated to be adapted to the capacities of different pupils

[79] *Sixth Ann. Rep. Conn. S. S. Union,* 1830, p. 11. *The Third, Fourth and Sixth Annual Reports of the Connecticut Sunday School Union* give a tabulation of the Sunday schools within the state, including the year they were each instituted, the number of superintendents, secretaries, male teachers, female teachers, total number of teachers, male scholars, female scholars, and total number of scholars. These reports, however, must be used with caution, as some discrepancies occur.

[80] *Third Ann. Rep. Conn. S. S. Union,* 1827, pp. 39-40.

[81] Letter to N. Kingsbury, MS. copy dated Aug. 10, 1858, in possession of the Conn. S. S. Asso., Hartford.

[82] Howard, Philip E.: *The Life Story of Henry Clay Trumbull,* p. 150.

[83] *Third Ann. Rep. Conn. S. S. Union,* 1827, pp. 13-14.

and to provide the element of elasticity. In 1833 they were reported to have been quite generally adopted.[84] These volumes of questions embraced important passages of Scripture, with questions pertaining thereto. The first volume was published in 1827 and the Union was able to record that "many large editions have been circulated" by 1830. The object of the books was "to excite the mind to a careful and thorough examination of the Scriptures."[85] The books were meant for both pupil and teacher. The first volume of the *Union Questions* dealt with the history of Christ's life; the second comprised his parables and other teachings; the third contained the beginning of the Old Testament history; the fourth continued the history to the death of Joshua; the fifth was a continuation of the first volume, bringing the New Testament history from the ascension of Christ and completing the Acts of the Apostles; the sixth and seventh contained questions upon the Old Testament, to the Babylonian captivity.

A very common practice in this period was to give rewards for faithfulness in attendance. For three years previous to 1827 the New Haven Sunday School Union had given the *Sabbath Scholar's Magazine*, published monthly by the American Sunday School Union, of which 275 copies had been distributed by the New Haven organization at an annual expense of from $65 to $70. This plan of rewards was discontinued in favor of building up a library, which by 1827 contained 550 volumes. The same year the Greenwich West Society reported that they had substituted the library system for rewards, to the displeasure of the children. The society believed that the system of rewards hitherto practiced was wrong in principle, as it encouraged selfishness, ambition, and envy.[86]

[84] *Ninth Ann. Rep. Am. S. S. Union*, May, 1833, p. 8.

[85] See preface to *Union Questions or Questions on Select Portions of Scripture, from the Old and New Testaments*, V, 1835, pp. III-IV.

[86] *Third Ann. Rep. Conn. S. S. Union*, 1827, p. 32.

The teachers of the three schools attached to the churches of Rev. Mr. Hawes, Mr. Linsley, and Mr. Spring and the teachers in the African school in Hartford organized The Association of Sabbath School Teachers, which reported 128 teachers and 724 scholars in 1827. The association adopted its own series of lesson questions, that recommended by the Hartford Association of Teachers, which the Hartford First Society reported in 1827 to be the best ever adopted in that city.[87] At their anniversary meeting held in October, 1826, a report was made that 17 teachers and 19 scholars had made a profession of faith. The libraries contained 700 volumes, exclusive of a "valuable collection of 75 volumes loaned to the African school by the young ladies of this city."[88]

From the third annual report of the Connecticut Sunday School Union for 1827, the writer has selected reports concerning several schools which throw light upon the activity of the Sunday schools about that period. Farmington reported a school in successful operation since 1817. By 1827 the greater part of the children of the generation of that period had grown up under the influence of the Sabbath schools. During the revival of 1821, many teachers and members of the school were reported to have been "hopefully converted." Eighteen pupils and three teachers were believed to have been brought to "submission and repentance" in 1827. By that year a library had been established and a Bible class was in operation under the Rev. Mr. Porter.[89]

Glastonbury had a Sunday school in successful operation since 1819. It was able to report that about 40 children and 14 instructors "became hopeful subjects of renewing grace" during the late revival in 1827. The Sunday school expected to institute a Bible class and a library the ensuing season.[90]

[87] *Third Ann. Rep. Conn. S. S. Union,* 1827, p. 18.
[88] *Ibid.,* p. 15.
[89] *Ibid.,* p. 20.
[90] *Ibid.,* pp. 20-21.

In New Haven Sunday schools existed for some years without much success, until 1822, when the male part of the New Haven Sunday School Union was formed, followed the ensuing spring by the organization of the female department. Five years later both departments were reported to have continued without the intermission of a single Sunday. The largest number in attendance in the summer of 1826 was 369, and in that winter 348. There were 27 male and 35 female teachers, all of whom were reported to be "hopefully pious." Weekly meetings for business, conversation, and prayer were kept, and the monthly Sabbath school concert of prayer was faithfully observed. In addition, a weekly lecture was given the teachers by the pastors of the churches upon lessons the children were to commit to memory, which were uniform throughout the schools.[91]

The Hartford Third Society reported in 1827 a "High Class" for the more advanced Sunday school scholars, under the instruction of the deacons and taught from *Catlin's Theology*.[92] The society reported a monthly collection from teachers and scholars, as recommended by the Hartford Association of Teachers, to be used in paying the expenses of agents who should promote Sabbath schools within the county. The teachers paid 12½ cents and the pupils 2 or 3 cents monthly.[93]

The Connecticut Sunday School Union was not slow to assume the task of establishing new Sunday schools throughout the state. In the annual meeting of 1827, the secretary informed the board that the Association of Teachers of Hartford, for the promotion of Sabbath schools, had employed an agent to visit the parishes in Hartford County, with the intention of establishing Sunday schools. The secretary had given this agent the following letter: "The Board of Agency for promoting Sab-

[91] *Third Ann. Rep. Conn. S. S. Union*, 1827, p. 22.
[92] *Ibid.*, p. 19.
[93] *Ibid.*, p. 19.

bath schools in the County of Hartford, having appointed Mr. James Anderson as their agent, the Board of Managers of the Connecticut Sunday School Union do hereby sanction this appointment, and authorize Mr. Anderson to take such measures as shall tend most effectively to promote the object of the Board."[94] The union considered the appointment of one or two missionaries to establish new Sunday schools.[95] In the same year the board of the Association of Sabbath School Teachers of Hartford reported one agent already in the field and another expected to take up such missionary service in a short time.[96] In 1836 one man spent all or part of his time in organizing and stimulating the work of Sunday schools in Connecticut.[97]

At the annual meeting of the Connecticut Sunday School Union in 1828, a resolution was passed to establish a Sunday school for the purpose of instructing the rising generation to read and to understand the Holy Scriptures in every town, village, congregation, society, or section of the state.[98] Active measures were already launched to carry out this intention.

In the same manner in which the American Sunday School Union organized the states into state unions, the Connecticut Sunday School Union essayed to organize the state into county unions. The Hartford County Sunday School Union held its first annual meeting in Hartford on April 9, 1828.[99] The first annual meeting of the New Haven County Sabbath School Union occurred in Guilford on April 16, 1828.[100] Windham County organized a union in 1829, and the Wethersfield and Berlin Union was begun in 1832. Towns also formed Sunday school unions: Norwich established one in 1824; the New

[94] *Third Ann. Rep. Conn. S. S. Union,* p. 5.
[95] *Ibid.,* p. 13.
[96] *Ibid.,* p. 16.
[97] *Twelfth Ann. Rep. Am. S. S. Union,* 1836, p. 24.
[98] *Fourth Ann. Rep. Conn. S. S. Union,* 1828, p. 3.
[99] *Ibid.,* 1828, p. 32.
[100] *Ibid.,* 1828, p. 18.

Haven Sunday School Union grew out of the Sunday school instituted there in 1822.

The Sabbath School Union for Wethersfield and Berlin, because of the continuity and completeness of its records, furnishes a good illustration of the service rendered by the Sunday schools. This union was organized on September 6, 1832, at the instigation of a Mr. Grosvenor, the general agent of the American Sunday School Union. This union was auxiliary to the Connecticut Sabbath School Union. The first secretary stated that he "reported to that Institution I think twice—but that died out and most of the local Unions of the state while by God's help we have held our own way prosperously."[101] The objects of the society were declared to be "to promote the increase and prosperity of Sabbath Schools within its limits—to open a channel of easy communication with all the schools in its connection, by which improvements in the mode of teaching and all the advantages suggested by experience may be speedily introduced, and to correspond with the Con. S. S. Union." A visiting committee was appointed, a feature of the work which persisted. The towns comprised in the union were Wethersfield, Rocky Hill, Newington, Kensington, New Britain, and Worthington.[102]

Reports at the annual meeting of the union held September 10, 1833, showed a successful year. New Britain reported female pupils 133, male 101, male teachers 16, female 17, pupils in the infant school 84, and pupils in the adult department 50, a total of 401. The teachers were all professors of religion but one. They met every Friday evening. The schools observed a monthly concert of prayer and had a lecture every Sunday evening on the lesson. Newington had about

[101] Letter of Alfred Andrews to N. Kingsbury, MS. copy dated Aug. 10, 1858. In possession of the Conn. S. S. Asso., Hartford.

[102] MS. records of the Wethersfield and Berlin S. S. Union, 1832-1866. In possession of Conn. S. S. Asso., Hartford.

100 in the Sunday school. They observed the monthly concert of prayer and conducted an infant class. Wethersfield had about 150 pupils, observed the concert, and held a weekly teachers' meeting. Rocky Hill School had 95 pupils and 15 in the adult class. Their library contained 200 volumes. Worthington school had 135 pupils, including the adult class, and observed the concert of prayer. Kensington had 35 pupils and reported that the concert was held.[103]

The Sunday school made its influence felt in the revivals of this period. Rocky Hill in 1837 reported a pleasing revival in March, as a result of which 25 pupils and 3 teachers united with the church. The same year New Britain reported an "interesting revival," with 70 conversions in the Sunday school. "Most of those who were anxious were hopefully converted and all of them had one or both parents pious. Teachers all pious."[104] In 1838 Newington reported 2 teachers and 27 pupils united with the church. Every school save one reported conversions. West Hartford was admitted to the union this year. A resolution was passed in 1840 "That it is recommended to each school in our Union to celebrate the 4th of July in such manner as will promote the cause of both Sabbath School and Temperance." In 1841 Rocky Hill reported 3 teachers and 73 pupils hopefully converted. Thirty-three pupils and two teachers united with the church. Ninety-two pledged to total abstinence. The year 1843 appears to have been a period of special spiritual renewal, for 288 conversions are reported. The years immediately following, 1844 and 1845, reported no conversions, and 1846 could account for only three. Berlin in 1854 was visited with a revival of unusual power. Deacon North reported 99 added to the church, and 3 more were propounded for admission the next communion. Out of a school of 231, there were 190 who "indulge hope." Newington the following

[103] MS. records of the Wethersfield and Berlin S. S. Union, 1832-1866.
[104] *Ibid.;* see report for 1837.

year reported 20 conversions in the school and none outside. In 1857 all schools in the union reported conversions except West Hartford, a total of 150. The following year West Hartford reported 54 conversions and 38 added to the church. There were 177 conversions reported for the whole union in 1858. Of 62 who joined the church in New Britain First, 43 were from the Sunday school. In the following year only three conversions were reported.[105]

Libraries became an important feature of the Sunday school movement, and the number established and volumes used give evidence of the growth of the movement. These Sunday school libraries furnished books at a moderate price and in quantities to the local Sunday schools. In many ways they performed for the community where they were located the function which is now performed by the juvenile sections of our public libraries. The *Connecticut Observer* on April 12, 1825, contained a short editorial commending Sunday school libraries, stating that one knew of no other measure that had been more successful to awaken the attention of pupils. The American Sunday School Union undertook to furnish a supply of cheap books to all portions of the country. The reports of this society contain frequent references to the labors of their missionaries in distributing books and tracts.[106] The number of books was at first extremely limited, not over 30 or 40, many of which were reprints from English works. In 1827 the managers of the Connecticut Sunday School Union reported three depositories, located in New Haven, Hartford, and Norwich, where auxiliaries could secure books for their libraries at 25 per cent discount.[107] In the same year the managers of the Connecticut Sunday School Union were able to report: "It is a source of much satis-

[105] MS. records of the Wethersfield and Berlin S. S. Union; see report of the anniversary meeting for the several years considered.

[106] *Twenty-Sixth Ann. Rep. Am. S. S. Union*, 1850.

[107] *Third Ann. Rep. Conn. S. S. Union*, 1827, p. 2.

faction to the friends and patrons of our Sabbath Schools that in most of them Libraries have been commenced, on a plan which promises that they will soon become beneficial and respectable."[108] In 1830 the Connecticut Sunday School Union reported 24,005 volumes in the libraries of the various auxiliaries.[109] The Hartford County Sabbath School Union in the same year reported 8,841 volumes in the libraries of its members.[110]

The library feature of the Sunday school was popular and enjoyed favorable comment. Henry Barnard, in his secretary's report in the second annual report of the Board of Commissioners of Common Schools in Connecticut, remarked: "I should not here omit to mention the important agency of Sunday Schools and Sunday School libraries, in the moral education of the young. They are connected with almost every religious denomination in the state. In some respects they are a substitute for the omission of more thorough moral instruction in our common schools and can doubtless give to a class of children more and better culture of this kind than was ever given in these schools."[111]

The catalog of the American Sunday School Union in 1824 advertised only eighteen books for children, a number which rapidly increased. By the year 1833 there was a Sabbath School Depository in the Marble Block on Chapel Street in New Haven, under the patronage of the New Haven Sabbath School Union. The publications of the Massachusetts Sabbath School Union and of the American Sunday School Union and similar literature fitted for Sunday school libraries were kept in stock.[112]

[108] *Third Ann. Rep. Conn. S. S. Union,* p. 12.

[109] *Sixth Ann. Rep. Conn. S. S. Union,* 1830, p. 10.

[110] "Third Ann. Rep. Hartford Co. S. S. Union," in *Sixth Ann. Rep. Conn. S. S. Union,* 1830, p. 5.

[111] *Conn. Com. Sch. Jour.,* May, 1840, II, p. 216.

[112] These included *The Union Questions,* Vols. 1-5; Barnes' *Questions on the*

The Sunday school libraries contained books for teachers in addition to the various books for children, which came out in vastly increased numbers after the formation of the American Sunday School Union. Among them was *Babington on Education,* with a preliminary essay by T. H. Gallaudet, an English work reprinted at Hartford. This was a well-arranged treatise upon the practical aspects of Christian teaching.[113] In 1841 the American Sunday School Union advertised a library of 121 volumes, among which were *The Life of General Washington, The Life of Colonel Gardner, The Dairyman's Daughter, The Life of Cotton Mather, The Young Free Thinker Reclaimed,* and others of a religious character bearing on missions and the moral problems of children. One cannot help having a feeling of sympathy with T. H. Gallaudet's remark, made fifteen years previously, that if a mother should talk to her young in the language of the children's books of the period, the youthful listener would stand aghast and older listeners would esteem it a want of common sense and "a miserable exhibition of vanity and bombast."[114] This remark, however, would have more application to the stories about imaginary characters than to the biographies involved. A "Christian Library" of 45 volumes, containing in all 430 pages, for the price of $20, was also advertised. These books were of a more mature character, containing Doddridge's *Rise and Progress,* Wilberforce's *Practical View,* Edwards' *On the Affections,* Baxter's *Saints' Rest,* and Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress.*[115]

New Testament, Vols. 1-3, with Barnes' *Notes on the Gospels;* Bush's *Questions on the Old Testament;* Cogswell's *Theological Class Book for Adult Bible Classes; The Bible Class Book,* Vols. 1-3, by Fish and Abbot; Robinson's *Dictionary of the Bible for Sabbath Schools;* and many similar books. The educational literature of the period carries many advertisements of the publications of various Sunday school societies.

[113] Fourth American, from the 7th British ed., Hartford, 1831.

[114] Gallaudet, T. H.: *Plan of a Seminary for the Education of Instructors of Youth,* 1825, p. 12.

[115] *Conn. Com. Sch. Jour.,* March 15, 1841, pp. 123-124.

Contributions of books from the American Sunday School Union supplemented the books in the libraries of Connecticut Sunday schools. In the year March 1, 1844, to February 28, 1845, Clinton, Middlesex County, received $10 worth, and Prospect, New Haven County, received a like amount. The following year, Wolcottsville, Litchfield County, received books to the value of $10. In the year ending February 28, 1847, Derby received $15 in publication materials. The next year all of Connecticut received $21.75 in various periodicals and literature.[116]

In addition to caring for local interests in her Sunday schools, Connecticut bore a responsible part in the extension of the Sunday school movement into the Mississippi Valley. In the year 1831-1832 she contributed, through the American Sunday School Union, $6,683.93. In 1832-1833 the amount was $1,218.70; in 1833-1834, $2,222.48; in 1834-1835, $1,025.83, and in the same year she contributed $1,194.88 for establishing schools in the southern states and $434.79 for the general purposes of the society. In 1835-1836 the sum of $1,928.31 was given to the Mississippi Valley work, and $108.54 for a foreign fund to supply the missionaries with literature. In 1836-1837 the Mississippi Valley work received $2,680.40 and the general fund $1,280.15.[117]

By the fourth decade of the nineteenth century, ministers and educators alike were aware of the value of the Sunday school. Eloquent pleas were made for better facilities, for parental interest and for more regularity of attendance in the Sunday schools.[118] That the movement had its effect upon the morals and customs of the people is attested by the notices which appear regarding the employment of the Sabbath and

[116] See reports of American Sunday School Union for years mentioned.

[117] See reports of American Sunday School Union for years mentioned.

[118] Hinsdale, Charles J.: *A Discourse on Christian Education,* delivered in the Third Congregational Church in New Haven, April, 1833.

other holidays.[119] A writer in 1847 stated: "One of the principal and, in its influence, most efficacious instruments for the inculcation of knowledge—especially religious or scriptural knowledge—is the Sunday School."[120]

The teaching of the Sunday schools reflected the general theological position of the church with almost no stress upon denominational peculiarities. A Sunday school publication in 1845 stated: "But we find that as Episcopalians, Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, Reformed Dutch, Congregationalists, etc., we can maintain the integrity of our relations to our respective churches and communities, while we can unite to teach *the truths which Christ taught, and as plainly as he taught them*. . . . In the doctrines of the last state of man by nature, and his exposure to endless punishment in a future world—his recovery only by the free, sovereign and sustaining grace of God, through the atonement and merits of a divine Redeemer, and by the influence of the Holy Spirit—the necessity of faith, repentance and holy living, with an open confession of the Saviour before men, and the duty of complying with his ordinances of Baptism and the Lord's supper—and the supremacy of the inspired Scriptures as the rule of faith and duty; in these doctrines we find the essential and leading truths of the Christian system; in the reception of these doctrines we agree,

[119] "Not the least gratifying result of the moral and intellectual advancement of our country is seen in the improved manner of celebrating its national holiday. Instead of the fashionable drunkenness, brandy brawls, and wild revelry, which were once deemed essential to its proper observance, we now find the more exemplary and influential portion of the community quietly assembled in the churches, halls and groves, at each turn of the nation's birthday. . . . Early in the afternoon, groups of Sabbath School children, headed by their respective teachers, were seen wending their way toward the Town House to swell the grand procession there forming."—*Sabbath School Celebration in Norwich* (anon.), July 4, 1839. (In volume entitled, *Sunday School Pamphlets*, in Yale Library.)

[120] *The New Englander*, April, 1847; Article, "The Influence of Sunday Schools," p. 162.

and with God's help, we endeavor to teach and inculcate them on all whom we can properly reach."[121]

The General Association in 1849, through its committee on the state of religion, was able to report a flourishing condition in the Sabbath schools.[122] The committee for 1850 reported that such schools were generally well supported, but quoted a report which narrated: "We fear the Sabbath School is not filling that large field of usefulness for which it is fitted. Its bearings upon the great subject of Christian education is one of immense importance, and we feel that a more elevated tone ought to be given to it in all our churches—more elevated both as to the intellectual improvement and spiritual training of our youth. It opens a wide field for sound mental culture, and possesses rare facilities for bringing the soul directly to Christ. . . . We are more and more persuaded that upon faithful early religious training are largely to depend the future welfare of our churches and the lasting good of coming generations."[123] Sabbath schools continued to prosper in Connecticut. In 1854 the committee reported that Sunday schools and Bible classes were carried on with "greater and more permanent interest."[124] In 1856 the Sabbath schools had received increased attention and in some instances a large part of the congregation had been engaged in a consecutive study of the Scriptures with good results.[125]

In March, 1857, a call was sent out by a committee composed of A. G. Hammond, Albert Day, and J. Ward Fuller of Hartford, and representatives from the New Haven Sunday School Union, Messrs. William B. Johnson, John Matthewson,

[121] *Important Considerations Touching The Principles and Objects of the American Sunday-School Union, Addressed Particularly to Evangelical Christians and Other Citizens in New England.* Pamphlet, Philadelphia, 1845.

[122] *Min. Gen. Asso.*, 1849, p. 11.

[123] *Ibid.*, 1850, p. 7.

[124] *Ibid.*, 1854, p. 16.

[125] *Ibid.*, 1856, p. 15.

Major Moulthrop, Charles Carlisle, C. S. Lyman, and J. G. North, for a state convention of Sabbath school teachers, to meet in Hartford on April 28 of that year and to continue two days. The call stated that "The object of the Convention is to obtain information respecting the condition of Sabbath Schools throughout the State, and by mutual counsel and interchange of views, to devise the means of imparting vigor and efficiency to the cause of Sabbath Schools."[126] Pastors of churches were also invited to attend. Pursuant to this call, the convention was held on April 28, 29, and 30, 1857. Hon. Albert Day was made president and Henry Clay Trumbull, James L. Howard, J. F. Judd, Rev. H. Beebe, and Lewis A. Hyde were appointed secretaries.

Reports to the convention stated that local unions were springing up over the state. F. W. Shelton of Birmingham stated that a union had been formed, embracing the Methodist schools in that place and the Congregational school of Derby. He urged their establishment all over the state as a means of breaking down denominational walls and of doing away with sectarian jealousy.[127] Deacon George Smith of New Haven stated that a union of the New Haven Sabbath schools had been in operation for "about ten years" and included eighteen schools.[128] In New Haven one mission school was made up entirely of German children and had been in operation for two years. The union embraced 2,500 to 3,000 of the children of New Haven. All the Sabbath schools in New Haven numbered 24, and included four Episcopal and two Roman Catholic. About 340 teachers were employed in such religious instruction.[129]

Not all unions were as effective as the New Haven one, how-

[126] *Rep. of the Doings of the First State Convention of S. S. Teachers*, 1857, p. 3.
[127] *Ibid.*, p. 6.
[128] *Ibid.*, p. 7.
[129] *Ibid.*, p. 8.

ever, for D. A. Griggs of Chaplin stated that the union to which his school belonged had not met for more than eight years.[130]

Some local conventions had been held for the purpose of forwarding the Sunday school movement in previous years. Rev. R. G. Williams of Woodbury reported a convention in the southern part of Litchfield County, "less than a year since."[131]

In the Wednesday morning session on April 29, Rev. Dr. Clarke of Hartford moved that a committee of three be appointed by the chair to draft a series of questions to be answered in writing by the Sunday school superintendents. The motion was passed, and George Perkins of Norwich, Rev. S. B. Grant of New Haven, Rev. J. K. Fessenden of Ellington, and Rev. H. Beebe of New Haven were appointed. The questions as formulated by this committee were the basis for the statistics published with the report of the convention, the first systematic attempt to gain accurate knowledge of Sunday schools in Connecticut. A summary of the results of this investigation shows that 97 out of 157 towns reported in whole or in part; 227 Sunday schools reported, embracing 4,336 teachers, 40,074 pupils, of whom 4,411 were church members; 981 conversions were recorded for the preceding year; the total gain in pupils for the past year was 2,019. Forty-seven of the 227 schools reporting held teachers' meetings, and 64 observed the monthly concert of prayer. The estimated number of Sunday schools was 649, and the estimated whole number of pupils was 64,455. The estimate for the whole number of children between five and twenty years of age was 130,671, while the estimate for children destitute of Sunday school instruction was 65,216.[132]

The convention discussed the problem of instruction, with no very definite results. Deacon P. Button of Greenwich stated

[130] *Rep. of the Doings of the First State Convention of S. S. Teachers*, 1857, p. 19.

[131] *Ibid.*, p. 8.

[132] *Ibid.*, p. 105.

that no general rule could be given. Each teacher should employ his own method, using question books or not as he saw fit.[133] Rev. R. G. Williams of Woodbury recommended Barnard's *Topical Question Book* for general use.[134] Rev. L. B. Boltwood of Rocky Hill was persuaded that the Bible, without any kind of question book, was the best method; he was in favor of pupils learning whole chapters of the Scripture.[135] A discussion arose over a resolution that the convention "commend to all Sabbath Schools of this State, the old practice of committing to memory the Word of God." H. Blanchard of Hartford pointed out that the question book prepared by the American Sunday School Union was the work of a committee consisting of five members, each of a different evangelical denomination. It was free from sectarian peculiarities, and was catholic in spirit. He was in favor of any resolution recommending the study of the Bible, but was unwilling to have any resolution construed as opposed to the use of a judiciously arranged question book.[136] The word "old" was struck out of the resolution, to relieve it from the appearance of finding fault with the present mode of instruction. After such amendment, the resolution was passed without opposition.[137] The use of other than strictly Biblical materials had come to stay.

G. W. Shelton inquired as to the propriety of attempting to induce Roman Catholic children to attend their own Sabbath schools in case they would not enter the mission schools. Those engaged in the work replied that children should be urged to belong to some Sabbath school, and if they would attend no other, let them enter the Catholic. Trumbull stated that, in Hartford, the hours of the mission schools had been arranged expressly to avoid interference with the Catholics, which had

[133] *Rep. of the Doings of the First State Convention of S. S. Teachers*, 1857, p. 49.
[134] *Ibid.*, p. 52.
[135] *Ibid.*, p. 52.
[136] *Ibid.*, pp. 87-89.
[137] *Ibid.*, p. 91.

removed the claim that the mission school was in opposition to any other schools.[138]

Henry Clay Trumbull spoke upon the subject of mission schools. He was at that time superintendent of the mission Sabbath school in Hartford. These mission schools, intended for the most neglected class of children in the community, more nearly resembled the schools of Robert Raikes in England than any other American Sabbath schools. Trumbull reported that he had seen one school in Hartford grow from a dozen scholars to two hundred.[139] The school with which he was connected was considered not as the germ of a church, but as a meeting place for children of the abandoned and hopeless class where they could be brought under the influence of Christian people. In such schools little progress could be noted, the improvement being made largely by the pupils who had been removed from the school to other schools. He stated that for months after the school was started, scarcely a Sunday passed without some hand-to-hand encounter with the pupils and that he sometimes had his clothes torn and hands and face bleeding from the actions of his pupils. Mr. Walker of New Haven mentioned that upon his first visit to the Davenport Mission School in that city he found the superintendent upon the floor with one of the pupils over him.[140]

A great variety of materials for Sunday school instruction existed throughout this period. The superintendent of the Rocky Hill Sunday school, in his annual report for 1861, stated that they had a variety of question books in use "adapted to the capacity of children" and "one leading question book more especially adapted to more advanced scholars and adults."[141] Greenwich reported that it kept up interest by distributing to

[138] *Rep. of the Doings of the First State Convention of S. S. Teachers*, 1857, p. 81.

[139] *Ibid.*, p. 57.

[140] *Ibid.*, pp. 78-79.

[141] MS. report of the Supt. of the Rocky Hill S. S., 1861, to the Wethersfield and Berlin S. S. Union, in possession of the Conn. S. S. Asso., Hartford.

the children the *American Messenger*, the *Day Spring*, and "a Temperance paper."[142] Some of the schools reported an increased attention to memorizing proof-texts. The pupils in Norwich school had recited 13,000 proof-texts during the past year, and four little girls had learned over 3,600 passages. The school was reported to be enjoying a "precious revival of religion."[143]

The monthly prayer meeting or Sunday school concert of prayer, as it had become known, was an important feature of Sunday school instruction in Connecticut. A period was given over for discussion upon this topic in the Teachers' Convention in 1857. Rev. Dr. Murdock of Hartford stated that in the Sabbath school concert he found a place where he could not only lead the prayers of the church, but where he could lead the minds of the young in religious knowledge. He considered the Sabbath school concert as a powerful means of awakening and keeping alive the interest of the children in the school.[144] A monthly concert of prayer had long been a regular occasion in Connecticut church life. Some catechizing was conducted at these meetings. Thomas Robbins entered in his diary for August 15, 1823, "Mr. Eells and Mr. Charlton conducted our catechizing without me."[145]

The Sunday schools by 1857 appeared to be the chief recruiting agency for the churches. Norwich reported in the year 1856-1857 that 46 persons had united with the church, 35 of whom were from the Sunday school. Five of the remaining 11 had since joined the school.[146] Deacon Philander Button of Greenwich reported that four-fifths of all who joined the church in the preceding thirty years had come from the Sunday schools.[147] H. H. Barbour reported over 60 conversions in their church in

[142] *Rep. of Doings of First State Convention of S. S. Teachers*, 1857, p. 15.
[143] *Ibid.*, p. 94.
[144] *Ibid.*, p. 15.
[145] Robbins, Thomas: *Diary*, I, 1796-1825, p. 936.
[146] *Rep. of Doings of First State Convention of S. S. Teachers*, 1857, p. 12.
[147] *Ibid.*, p. 14.

the last six years, of which more than half had come from the Sunday school.[148]

Greenwich reported a common difficulty in regard to the neglect of the Sunday school by older people. Young men, after arriving at the age of eighteen or twenty years, ceased to attend the Sunday schools.[149] W. F. Collins of New Haven, in listing the causes contributing to inefficiency in the Sunday schools, mentioned late and irregular attendance, poorly learned lessons, misconduct in the school, indifference of parents, and the want of punctuality and competency in the teachers. The place where the Sunday school was held was not infrequently unfit, and the time allowed too limited. Pastors and principal members of the churches were often indifferent to the work of the schools.[150]

At the close of the convention, the delegates resolved "That while the Sabbath School should never be considered by parents a substitute for parental instruction, its claims upon their interest and attention are of vital importance to the proper training of their children, and the fitting of them for usefulness in the world and happiness in the world to come." Other resolutions expressed the hope that the churches regard the schools as an integral department of Christian effort and that it be conceded that the Sabbath school is the nursery of the church. A "wise and judicious plan or system of instruction" was to be devised by each teacher, "applicable to the condition and state of mind of their scholars." Teachers should visit their pupils monthly. Adult classes were commended as having a salutary influence upon the Sunday schools. Local unions were recommended where the interests of several schools could be promoted. Sabbath school concerts received the approval of the convention.[151]

A resolution was passed that a central committee of five be

[148] *Rep. of the Doings of the First State Convention of S. S. Teachers*, 1857, p. 16.
[149] *Ibid.*, p. 15.
[150] *Ibid.*, pp. 34-35.
[151] *Ibid.*, pp. 85-86.

appointed, whose duty it shall be to meet at least quarterly to fill any vacancies in the secretaryship in the several counties, to receive and digest statistics, to call conventions, to issue circulars and to promote the interests of Sunday schools throughout the state.

Perhaps the most important resolution passed dealt with the organization of a State Sabbath School Teachers' Association by the appointment of a secretary in each county who should report to the central committee and do all possible to promote the cause of Sunday schools.[152]

The convention at Hartford gave evidence of the interest taken in Sunday schools at this time and was itself an immense stimulus toward larger and better work in this field. The minutes of the General Association for that year give reports of a flourishing condition in the Sunday schools and state: "To this happy impulse, vigor and thrift, which they exhibit, the Convention recently held in Hartford is thought to have essentially contributed."[153] The next year, 1858, was one of exceptional revivals, in which the Sunday schools were reported to have shared.[154]

The second state convention of Sabbath school teachers met at New Haven on June 1-3, 1858. In response to the questionnaire sent out by a committee of this body, 566 schools reported as compared with 227 the previous year. The statistics gathered indicate 8,450 teachers and 59,019 pupils, with 11,202 over eighteen years of age. The number of conversions reported was 5,182; the reported gain in pupils for the year was 6,336; schools reported as making benevolent contributions were 200; and schools holding teachers' meetings numbered 87. The monthly Sunday school concert of prayer was observed by 131 schools. The total estimated number of Sunday schools was

[152] *Rep. of the Doings of the First State Convention of S. S. Teachers*, 1857, p. 86.

[153] *Min. Gen. Asso.*, 1857, p. 17.

[154] *Ibid.*, 1858, p. 21.

659; the number of teachers, 9,545; number of pupils, 65,889, of whom 14,432 were estimated as over eighteen years of age. The estimated whole number of children from four to eighteen years of age was 114,620, while the number estimated between four and eighteen destitute of Sunday school instruction was 63,163.[155]

The board of managers decided soon after the convention to secure the services of a man to devote his whole time to promoting the Sunday school cause. The American Sunday School Union having volunteered to bear the whole expense of such a worker, Henry Clay Trumbull was appointed by the American Sunday School Union at the request of the board of managers as Sabbath school missionary for Connecticut and entered upon his duties in September of 1858.[156]

The content of the lesson material was the subject of live debate in the teachers' convention of 1858. Some of the delegates objected to quantities of Scripture being memorized, with little reference to the sense of the material learned. The matter was left undecided, a goodly number favoring the conventional mode of memorizing Scripture passages.[157] Those who participated in creating children's religious literature strove to adapt it more appropriately to the needs of growing minds. Although the literature of the forties and fifties appears to us as precocious, introspective, somewhat other-worldly and far-fetched, nevertheless it represents a decided improvement over the booklets of one and two generations earlier. The editors of the American Sunday School Union were conscious of some demand for the story books of an earlier time and remarked in 1850: "Indeed, some have gone so far as to maintain that the revival of the most puerile of the ditties and legends of a former age

[155] *Rep. of Doings of Second State Convention of S. S. Teachers,* 1858, p. 162. This report is rare. There is a copy in the Yale Library and one in possession of the Conn. S. S. Asso., Hartford.

[156] *Ibid.,* p. 164.

[157] *Ibid.,* see discussion, pp. 84-90.

would be a blessing. That we do not sympathize with those who would exclude all books of this class from the nursery is clear from the fact, that we have on our list, for several years, the story of The Fox and The Geese; and even within the current year (1850), we have put out a collection of *Children's Ballads* among which *Babes in the Wood* holds a conspicuous place. We are fully persuaded, however, that by far the greater part of the children's books which were in vogue at the beginning of this century, especially those known as sixpenny toy books, were not to be compared, even in their power to entertain children, (to say nothing of the absence of other qualities,) with a large proportion of penny books with which the world is now filled. If any intelligent person, of any age, will read the *Three Days in Mary Carrow's School*, or *Little George's First Journey*, or the twelve volumes of *Life in the Nursery*, in connection with any books bearing the imprint of the celebrated Mr. Newberry, of St. Pauls Churchyard, London, or the imprint of those who have followed him in the same line of effort, we are confident there will be no desire to restore, in any respect, the ancient nursery literature. We do not say that no grave errors have crept into the making of books for children; nor, indeed, that an equally indefensible extreme has not sometimes been reached in the endeavor to avoid puerility. But we all readily subscribe to the opinion, that truth reveals more wonders than fable or fiction, though the objects it presents may not be so incongruous or grotesque."[158]

Sunday school literature enriched the life of the thirties, forties, and fifties to no small degree. The publication of numerous books and tracts increased the number of readers. There was an improvement in style of manufacture and a vast reduction in price. Sunday school tracts were read by all members of the household.

[158] *Twenty-Sixth Ann. Rep. Am. S. S. Union*, 1850, pp. 40-41.

Henry Clay Trumbull, in reporting to the Sabbath school teachers' convention of 1858, alluded to the beneficial effects of the convention of 1857. He stated that he had visited all the towns in Hartford County during the year and most of them several times. Sabbath school workers had increased their interest and activity. Men had learned how to work in the first convention and had received new ideas. Hartford County had an increase of 2,000 pupils during the year, and some 1,600 conversions were reported.[159]

At a meeting of the county secretaries, with the state missionary, of the Connecticut Sunday School Teachers' Association convened at New Haven, on December 6, 1859, several resolutions were adopted in the interest of Sunday schools. Local conventions were considered desirable. Evangelical churches were to be urged to adopt without delay some plan of systematic "Christian visitation" to secure the attendance of all children. The monthly Sunday school concert of prayer was considered indispensable to the welfare of the schools, and it was the sense of the meeting that when it could not be held to advantage in the evening it should be allowed to take the place of the afternoon service, the second Sabbath in each month. The *Sunday School Times* was commended, and it was recommended that at least one copy be taken in each school. Churches were urged to establish branch or mission schools, apart from the houses of worship, to meet the needs of the more remote localities.[160]

The fourth Connecticut Sunday school convention met at Norwich on October 15-17, 1861, the third convention having occurred in Bridgeport two years previously. Henry Clay Trumbull had served three years as the state missionary. He reported that there were still 56,000 children between four and eighteen years of age destitute of all Sunday School instruction. Many

[159] *Twenty-Sixth Ann. Rep. Am. S. S. Union,* 1850, p. 47.

[160] Printed report of the meeting, in possession of Conn. S. S. Asso., Hartford.

of the schools which figured encouragingly in denominational statistics were closed during several winter months. Many churches were closed and neglected. He discovered in his travels that destitution was greatest and degradation lowest in country places. When Trumbull began his labors, 55 per cent of the whole number of children between four and eighteen years of age were without the religious training of Sunday schools, and probably not less than one-fourth of the schools closed in winter. After three years of effort, the state missionary could report at least 914 Sunday schools as compared with 749 when he began his labors, with 13,366 teachers and in all 84,697 pupils, with 66,744 of those under eighteen. Only 46 per cent of those from four to eighteen were outside the Sunday school, while not more than one-sixth of the schools adhered to winter vacations. A considerable part of Trumbull's efforts were directed toward persuading those in charge of Sunday schools to run them throughout the year. Many were accustomed to close down in the months of snowy weather. So prevalent was this winter closing that the state convention of September 28-30, 1859, appointed Dr. Daniel Curry and Trumbull to send a letter to about 150 of the Sunday schools, now numbering over 700, to persuade them to keep open.[161] Although the population of the state had increased within the period named, the proportion of the Sunday school attendance to the whole population was greater by at least 9 per cent than in September, 1858, when Trumbull began his labors. The number of Sunday schools had increased 165, the number of teachers 1,866 and of pupils younger than eighteen 14,290, and the number of pupils of all ages 14,762. Adult classes were increasing. Rocky Hill reported three adult classes in 1861, with pupils varying from twenty-one to seventy-two years of age.[162]

[161] Howard, Philip E.: *The Life Story of Henry Clay Trumbull,* p. 166.

[162] MS. report of Supt. of Rocky Hill S. S., 1861, to Wethersfield and Berlin S. S. Union, in possession of the Conn. S. S. Asso., Hartford.

Trumbull gave to the convention a short summary of his labors during the three years ending September 1, 1861. He had served in some way in 146 of the 162 towns, traveling on his labors more than 29,000 miles within the state, visiting or meeting at union gatherings 453 Sunday schools of ten denominations, revisiting some 300 of these. He had delivered 734 addresses, and had written, with some clerical assistance, 3,875 letters. In the same period he had organized in person or by proxy 60 new Sunday schools, comprising some 325 teachers and 2,200 pupils. Trumbull remarked: "And this in addition to what I was enabled to do in arousing local churches to the gathering of children into already existing schools."[163]

By 1861 the Sunday school had fully assumed the burden of religious education outside the home. The common schools and the church looked to them to furnish adequate moral and spiritual instruction. From a rudimentary and experimental state in the second decade of the last century they had grown until in 1861 they numbered nearly a thousand schools located in nearly every hamlet in Connecticut.

[163] *The Sunday School Times*, Nov. 2, 1861.

XIV.

The Doctrine of Christian Nurture.

THE idea of Christian nurture, as set forth by Horace Bushnell, in contrast to the revivalistic theory of the churches, was the outstanding contribution to religious education in the middle of the last century. To Bushnell, more than to any other educational or religious leader in Connecticut, belongs the credit for dignifying the instruction of children in religious matters and for emphasizing the importance of training in early years for growth into Christian character.

One of Bushnell's first utterances upon Christian nurture occurred in an article published in the *Christian Spectator* in 1836, entitled "The Influence of Religion upon the Health." In this article, Bushnell, although on the whole favorable to revivals, made some pointed comments upon current theory and practice. In February, 1838, he published in the *Christian Spectator* an article entitled "The Spiritual Economy of Revivals of Religion."[1] It was neither a defense nor an apology for revivals, but rather a study of the "divine husbandry" in them, to ascertain their real office and position. The views of the day regarding this mode of procedure Bushnell held to be "unripe and partial." His purpose was to indicate the place of revivals in the whole scheme of Christian instruction, to furnish a view of them which could be retained at all times.

Bushnell held that there was something unworthy and inimical to true religion between the extremes of revival excitement and subsequent periods of depression. On one day the whole community would appear to be swayed by the presence of God;

[1] The material in this paper was republished in *Views of Christian Nurture* in 1847, and in *Building Eras in Religion* in 1881.

on the morrow, when the revival wave receded, the situation would grow desperate, leaving many with the thought that religion itself was dying. The prostration seemed more pronounced because of the efforts to prevent it. Bushnell hoped to establish a more intelligent confidence in revivals and at the same time to secure more satisfactory results.

Revivals, Bushnell stated, had many merits. God is omnipresent, and although He works according to general laws, periodical agency was not derogatory to God's honor. In nature God sends intervals of drought and rain and the revolving cycle of the seasons. Some such rhythm of cultivation and nurture might be possible in a periodic ministry to the spirit of man. "All God's works and agencies are embraced and wrought into one comprehensive system by laws. He is no less the author of variety, that He produces variety by system."

God, Bushnell maintained, has a purpose to perform in the lives of religious people, namely, to produce character in them. At one time, excitement must kindle, at another caution must be administered. Now the intellect must be nourished to produce reflection and study; now the affections must receive attention by a season of social intercourse. A diversity of times, duties, exercises, and holy pleasures was desirable.

Bushnell admitted that revivals were helpful to the Christian church because of their novelty. Men were apt to grow weary of that which wears the same appearance continually. The author stated that the power of believers rested to a great degree on their appearing to the world as inhabited and swayed by divine influence. "A church standing always in the same posture would be a pillar of salt in the eyes of men, it would attract no attention, reveal no inhabitation of God's power."[2] In addition to the efficacy of novelty, revivals made use of the social instincts of men. Participation powerfully enforces im-

[2] Bushnell, Horace: Article, "Spiritual Economy of Revivals of Religion," *Christian Spectator,* Feb., 1838, p. 139.

DISCOURSES

ON

CHRISTIAN NURTURE.

BY HORACE BUSHNELL.

PASTOR OF THE NORTH CHURCH, HARTFORD.

Approved by the Committee of Publication.

BOSTON:

MASSACHUSETTS SABBATH SCHOOL SOCIETY,

Depository, No. 13 Cornhill.

1847.

Title-page from the Massachusetts Sabbath School Society edition of Horace Bushnell's *Discourses on Christian Nurture*. Because of opposition the Society suspended its publication.

pressions. Hence whole communities were swayed by "common gales of the Spirit."[3]

Another advantage of those periodical or temporary visitations lay in the very fact that they were temporary. Many felt at such a time that the Spirit would not long plead with them as now and that delay might lose the favor of God.

Having granted the merits of revivals, Bushnell passed on to the more fundamental consideration of his theme, the spiritual economy of revivals.

Should the Christian be less religious at one time than at another? He was under God's authority and bound by His laws at all times. He was under obligation to continually increase in religious strength.[4] Indeed, God favored different moods or kinds of religious interest, but at no time did He permit backsliding or declension in religious principles. It was a mistake to suppose that God was present and active only in times of religious exaltation. Bushnell stated that God worked in a diversity of ways. "He may now be leading the mind after instruction, teaching the believer how to collect himself and establish a regimen over his lawless will and passions, searching the motives, inducing a habit of reflection, teaching how to carry principles without excitement, drawing more into communion perhaps with God, and less for the time with men. And while he conducts the disciple through these rounds of heavenly discipline, we are by no means to think, that he is, of course, less religious, or has less of supreme love to God, than he had in the more fervid season of revival. A soldier is as much a soldier when he encamps as when he fights. . . . The Christian warfare is not all battle."[5]

Bushnell then passed to the phases of revivalism to which he most strenuously objected. One of the features he disliked was

[3] Bushnell, Horace: Article, "Spiritual Economy of Revivals of Religion," *Christian Spectator*, Feb., 1838, p. 140.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 141.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 141-142.

the current belief in clerical circles that the revival mood should exist at all times. This led to prodigious and unjustified efforts in arousing the churches to renewed activity until there flowed out another period of overworked zeal. If, instead of such a course, the believer were instructed that as the revival declined, God was leading him into a new variety of spiritual experience, where he should have new obligations as imperative as those in the revival itself, if he were encouraged to feel that God is still with him, if he were "taught the art of growth in the long run—how to make the dews, the rain, the sun, and the night, all lend their aid alike"—then to Bushnell's mind, a more reasonable view of Christian duty would be given to the individual believer.[6]

Another feature of the church life of the period to which Bushnell took exception was the idea that nothing could be done in religious matters without commotion. The ordinary should be displaced by the extraordinary, was the theory of the church. He complained of the machinery and of the "artificial firework, the extraordinary, combined jump and stir supposed to be requisite when anything is to be done."

Too much could be made of conversions, Bushnell maintained, and thereby give a wrong impression regarding the religious life. The business of the gospel was not to convert men only, any more than the whole business of travelers was to set out on journeys. "The great business of the gospel is to form men to God." Bushnell expressed the view that religion has as strong an appeal in times of non-revival as in times of special religious excitement. "For many religious purposes, periods of non-revival were as advantageous, as important, as revival seasons."

The idea of Christian nurture was one which Bushnell was not content to let rest in his mind. In October, 1844, he published an article in *The New Englander,* entitled "The King-

[6] Bushnell, Horace: Article, "Spiritual Economy of Revivals of Religion," *Christian Spectator,* Feb., 1838, p. 143.

dom of Heaven as a Grain of Mustard Seed," later renamed "Growth not Conquest the True Method of Christian Progress." The views set forth in this article aroused some dissent in his ministerial association, which requested Bushnell to prepare a paper on Christian training. He brought two sermons before the association, which met with such approval that he was asked to publish them. He offered the manuscript to the Massachusetts Sabbath School Society, which after some delay published it anonymously under the title, *Discourses on Christian Nurture,* in 1847. Later, because of opposition, the society suspended publication and Bushnell published *An Argument for 'Discourses on Christian Nurture' addressed to The Publishing Committee of the Massachusetts Sabbath School Society,* justifying the ideas contained in his *Discourses.*

Bushnell's thesis in his *Discourses* was "That the child is to grow up a Christian. In other words, the aim, effort and expectation should be, not, as is commonly assumed, that the child is to grow up in sin, to be converted after he comes to a mature age, but that he is to open on the world as one that is spiritually renewed, not remembering the time when he went through a technical experience, but seeming rather to have loved what is good from his earliest years."[7] Although Bushnell did not write the treatise as a repudiation of the theological teachings of the Protestant churches of the day, it was in effect opposed to them. Connecticut churches were stressing intense individualism and had overlooked the organic relationships within the church. Bushnell was really returning to an older orthodoxy.[8] He was not making a conscious return, but was rather stating the facts of religious life as he saw them. He did not set out to destroy the existing theology; he only attacked it as it came in his way in developing the thesis of the book.

[7] Bushnell, Horace: *Discourses on Christian Nurture,* Mass. Sabbath School Soc., ed. 1847, pp. 6-7.

[8] *Ibid.,* p. 7.

He rebelled against a theology and a practice which were mutually inconsistent. Infant baptism was practiced as in colonial days, indicating an organic covenant relationship with the church, and at the same time the revivalistic procedure of the day demanded what Bushnell was pleased to call an "ictic" conversion experience on the part of the child. Baptism and the church relationship of children has from the beginning been a vaguely defined question in New England Congregationalism. The Cambridge Platform of 1648 allowed none to be church members save those who could give evidence of regeneration. Later the Half-Way Covenant grew in favor as allowing the church to take within its fold the great proportion of the population, accepting for baptism the children of those who "owned the covenant," giving evidence of at least a speculative faith. A thoroughgoing Calvinism would in reality have no place for infant baptism. As Munger stated: "Under such conceptions of religion the child had little place. Nature was fairly driven off from the field of its life, and it was made the battle-ground where ponderous doctrines marched up and down, trampling under foot its native growths, and using its eternal destiny as a factor in working out the glory of God."[9] The child took a passive part in the religious life of the day. He must suffer the possibility of non-election, then he must undergo the discouraging doctrine of total depravity. The system struck Bushnell as unnatural and unworthy. Emphasis upon revivals tended to obscure the value of the early years of childhood, where character is developed.

In contrast to the revivalistic theory that the child should be instructed to expect a conversion experience, Bushnell remarked: "There is then, as the subject appears to us, no absurdity in supposing that children are to grow up in Christ. On the other hand, if there is no absurdity, there is a very clear moral incongruity in setting up a contrary supposition, to be

[9] Munger, Theodore T.: *Horace Bushnell, Preacher and Theologian,* p. 74.

the aim of a system of Christian education. There could not be a worse or a more baleful implication given to a child, than that he is to reject God and all holy principle, till he has come to a mature age. What authority have you from the Scriptures to tell your child, or, by any sign, to show him that you do not expect him truly to love and obey God, till after he has spent whole years in hatred and wrong?"[10] Again he remarked: "Now it is the very character and mark of all unchristian education, that it brings up the child for future conversion."[11] He pointed out that the current method of religious training enforced a practical rejection of the lessons taught them, in that the children were taught that the inculcation of the doctrines of Biblical theology could bear no fruit until children should come to a mature age.[12]

Bushnell did not reject the theory of original sin in its entirety. He frankly stated: "The growth of Christian virtue is no vegetable process, no mere onward development. It involves a struggle with evil, a fall and rescue."[13] Again, he remarked, "The declarations of scripture, and the laws of physiology, I have already intimated, compel the belief that a child's nature is somehow depravated by descent from parents who are under the corrupting effects of sin."[14]

The ideas, first, of the organic unity of the family, and second, that the child could grow up never knowing himself other than a Christian, were the most important teachings of *Christian Nurture*. Bushnell held that the child after birth was within the matrix of parental life, a psychical matrix. "And the parental life will be flowing into him all that time, just as naturally, and by a law as truly organic, as when the sap of a trunk

[10] Bushnell, Horace: *Discourses on Christian Nurture*, Mass. S. S. Soc., ed. 1847, p. 12.
[11] *Ibid.*, p. 15.
[12] *Ibid.*, p. 16.
[13] *Ibid.*, p. 22.
[14] *Ibid.*, p. 27.

flows into a limb."[15] He decried the extreme individualism of the time, which made too little of what he termed organic laws. The Baptist theory of education, as he understood it, he considered based upon an error, namely, the supposition that a child becomes a complete moral agent at the time of conversion, when before he was not. The child was rather lying within the moral agency of the father and mother, and passed slowly through a period of mixed agency unto complete independence.[16] He insisted that the idea that virtue was the result of independent choice was a mere assumption. True Christian education consisted in having the child grow up within the parental circle and being a Christian from his earliest years.[17]

Bushnell ridiculed the idea that men should grow up in evil and be dragged by conquest into the church. "The world is to lie in halves, and the kingdom of God is to stretch itself side by side with the kingdom of darkness, making sallies into it, and taking captive those who are sufficiently hardened and bronzed in guiltiness to be converted."[18] He raised and answered two objections to his theories. The first, a theoretical one, was that Christian nurture leaves no room for the sovereignty of God. To this he made reply that the "sovereignty of God has always a relationship to means," and asked for the citation of a single case where the parents have been such as would produce the best effects upon the children, where the sovereignty of God has appointed any of them to ruin.[19] The second objection was one from observation, that many apparently pious people were unfortunate in their children. Bushnell made answer to this objection, that although these parents may have been remarkable for their piety, they may yet be very disagreeable.[20]

[15] Bushnell, Horace: *Discourses on Christian Nurture,* Mass. S. S. Soc., ed. 1847, p. 27.
[16] *Ibid.,* p. 30.
[17] *Ibid.,* p. 33.
[18] *Ibid.,* p. 38.
[19] *Ibid.,* p. 53.
[20] *Ibid.,* p. 53.

Christian nurture was to Bushnell the way out of the revivalism of the period. He deplored excessive preaching. One vein had been worked till it had run out. The churches were in a state of exhaustion, with little to attract the laity. He was of the opinion that no church could long survive by the spirit of conquest.[21]

Objection was soon raised to Bushnell's views by a letter which appeared from the North Association of Hartford County, asserting that the *Discourses* contained dangerous tendencies. Munger stated that this charge doubtless issued from the Theological Institute of Connecticut, which was organized in 1834 to combat the Yale Divinity School.[22] The work, however, was not favorable to either seminary, but rather a recurrence to an older historical conception of the church, prior to the emphasis upon individualism initiated by the elder Edwards at the time of the "Great Awakening" of 1740. Upon the publication of the *Discourses*, Hartford Seminary attacked the author through Bennett Tyler by means of a *Letter to Dr. Bushnell on Christian Nurture*, and New Haven published the pamphlet, *What Does Mr. Bushnell Mean?* Princeton Seminary, in the person of Dr. Charles Hodge, objected that Bushnell had resolved the whole matter into organic laws, explaining away both depravity and grace, and took recourse to naturalism in explaining the whole subject.[23] Because of these critics and in view of the fact that the Massachusetts Sabbath School Society suppressed the work after a few months, Bushnell was led to write *An Argument for Discourses on Christian Nurture, addressed to The Publishing Committee of the Massachusetts Sabbath School Society*, in the same year (1847), by way of rebuttal.

[21] Bushnell, Horace: *Discourses on Christian Nurture*, Mass. S. S. Soc., ed. 1847, p. 68.

[22] Munger, Theodore T.: *Horace Bushnell, etc.*, p. 93.

[23] See *Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review*, 1847, pp. 502-539, for a discussion of the controversy.

It would be difficult to exaggerate the importance of Bushnell's views of Christian nurture. The Calvinistic theology, inherited from an earlier period, was nowhere more rigid or forbidding than in its treatment of the spiritual life of children. Bushnell's theory of religious education came at a time when revivals had been the approved means of recruiting the membership of the churches for a century. Controversies which arose regarding his ideas added to their publicity, and his works were widely read. Dr. A. C. McGiffert says of this book that it "did perhaps more than any other single agency to break down the extreme individualism of the old Puritan theology of America."[24] The presentation of the doctrine of Christian nurture marked the beginning of the shift from the haphazard and informal revival type of religious instruction to the more systematic and psychologically adapted instruction of the present.

Nor was Bushnell's influence in religious education limited to the direct efforts he made in behalf of improvement in common schools and in publishing his ideas on Christian nurture. He performed other great services to American religious thought. Said his biographer: "Relief was needed at four points: first, from a revivalism that ignored the law of Christian growth; second, from a conception of the trinity bordering on tritheism; third, from a view of miracles that implies a suspension of natural law; and, fourth, from a theory of the atonement that had grown almost shadowy under 'improvements,' yet still failed to declare the law of human life. . . . Bushnell undertook to reinterpret these doctrines, and to find their ground in nature and revelation, and in the processes of the human spirit."[25] As a lover of the truth he brought into theology a flexibility which it had lost under the influence of systematizers and those who based religious authority upon established dogma. He reclaimed the dignity of human nature

[24] McGiffert, A. C.: *The Rise of Modern Religious Ideas*, p. 277, note.
[25] Munger, Theodore T.: *Horace Bushnell, etc.*, pp. 387-388.

through his ideas on nurture without insisting that it was without sin. He initiated a movement in theology which has finally resulted in substituting experience for dogma. He led men to draw inductions from their spiritual life rather than to rationalize upon ancient and accepted ideas. By his insistence that man belongs chiefly to the supernatural realm, he helped to bring about the idea, now current in theology, that the natural and the supernatural are both parts of the same system, both manifestations of the same God. He did much to make Christ again the central object of religious experience and belief. By his emphasis upon the person of Christ as the main fact in Christianity, Bushnell reconciled many who found themselves spiritually out of accord with the theology of their day. Munger remarked of Bushnell's approach to the questions of his time, "He is always dealing with life and striving to put it in the way to realize itself."[26]

[26] Munger, Theodore T.: *Horace Bushnell, etc.*, p. 380. For a clear discussion of the place of Horace Bushnell in American religious thought see Buckham, John W.: *Progressive Religious Thought in America*, pp. 3-32. See also the preface, by Prof. Williston Walker, to a revision of Bushnell's *Christian Nurture*. The revision was made by Prof. Luther A. Weigle in 1916. The text was revised "to the extent only of the excision of a few brief passages of a controversial sort" and limited in their application to Bushnell's own time.

XV.

Conclusion.

CONNECTICUT is a commonwealth which began with a small group of like-minded people with the same literary and social traditions, identical in race, tongue, and nationality, and cemented together with common religious ideas. The settlers organized themselves in communities wherein the church and the town organizations were intermingled. A body of people formed in town units, with the church a dominant influence, had great power in resisting outside groups with divergent religious views. As time passed, this homogeneous population underwent considerable changes. There came variations in points of view, partly because the descendants of the first settlers became either careless or dissenters, and partly because of the infiltration of Quakers, Baptists, Methodists, and others who held ideas differing from those of the early settlers regarding church government and the fundamentals of the Christian gospel. We have traced the influence of these factors upon the religious education of this growing Puritan colony and have seen the small religious group emerge after a century and a half into a modern democratic state. The changes in religious theory and practice which took place in Connecticut up to the middle of the last century have been characteristic of the country as a whole. Connecticut history furnishes an excellent example of the gradual passing of the religious ideal in education, training for church and the spiritual life, to the non-sectarian type, training for citizenship without special emphasis on any sort of religious practice or belief.

The early settlers gave evidence of their earnestness in matters of religion by providing for the ministry by rates upon the

inhabitants and by special privileges and land grants to both clergymen and churches. In the case of New Haven Colony, church membership was required as a qualification for freemen. The General Court exercised a careful watch over the churches and endeavored to maintain the purity of the gospel. The Cambridge Platform, in the drafting of which Connecticut divines participated, and which remained the rule of faith and practice in that commonwealth until the Saybrook Platform of 1708, was a formulation of the church polity and belief current in this period. This Platform stated that it was the duty of the magistrate to take care of matters of religion. The Synod which drew up the Platform was itself convened by a civil authority, the Massachusetts General Court. Later, in 1708, the Connecticut General Court called the Synod that formulated the Saybrook Platform which the Court ratified in October of the same year.

The settlers were overwhelmingly Protestant, and of Congregational persuasion. The union of church and state was almost unquestioned during the whole of the first century of settlement. There were few dissenters and churches of other sects to interfere with the wishes of the Congregational majority who, from the beginning, held to a close connection between the church and the government.

From decade to decade the General Courts maintained a vigilant watch over both towns and parents in order that the posterity of the pioneer should know the capital laws and regulations of the colony and have a knowledge of the Scriptures and the grounds and principles of religion. The settlements were necessarily self-perpetuating and some knowledge of letters and instruction in religion was essential for the permanence of a society which wished to make the word of God its standard and in which every white man was at least potentially a freeman. From the beginning, the democratic nature of the commonwealth made education a necessity.

Such symbols as the Cambridge Platform determined to a large degree the theological aspects of religious teaching and the polity of the churches. The Half-Way Covenant problem was due to the persistence of rigid requirements for church membership, which were well enough for the small group of early settlers who had been sifted out of a much larger group in England and Holland and who were of one mind and faith, but which could not be required of the second and third generations, whose religious ardor and experience of regenerating grace were less intense than those of their forbears. The church leaders of the day in the ministerial convention of 1657 and the Synod of 1662, as well as in their local practice, manipulated the covenant in what they thought the most expedient manner by instituting the "half-way" plan, a procedure which was harmful to the life of the church and which was eventually done away with in the spiritual awakenings about 1740. The Cambridge Platform and the conclusions of the ministerial conference in 1657 were the most influential ecclesiastical enactments which bore upon the theory and practice of religious instruction in the seventeenth century.

Stern Calvinistic training was the milk on which the spiritual babes of Connecticut were fed. The general state of education was not high among the rank and file of the settlers, but nearly all could read. Catechetical instruction upon the doctrines of total depravity, the sovereignty of God, and the utter helplessness of man to bring about salvation by any acts of his own was drilled into the children. Partial atonement, the doctrine that Christ died for a select or elect number and not for all, was taught. Personal religious experience was inquired into with great particularity and the Bible was reverenced as the rule and guide of the faithful. In spite of grim and rigid theological instruction regarding election received from both pulpit and parent, if we are to judge from the evidence which we have of the religious life of the day, most of the religious folk never-

theless attempted to live prudently and well, with the hope that by some act of mercy their good works might be a means of grace and improve their chances of salvation.

The old books, pamphlets, and collections of hymns which are described, are cited here as typical, with no claim to exhaustiveness. The religious literature intended for the young was what may be supposed in a day and among a people where Calvinism was supreme. Teaching was often ill adapted and theological. Precocious piety was presupposed by most authors and there was much of death and damnation and of the discouraging doctrine of inability. It was not until Baxter issued his books for children in the middle of the seventeenth century, followed by Watts' publications in the opening decades of the eighteenth, that materials began to be adapted to the ages and needs of children.

The first period of Connecticut educational history closed with the year 1712, when the parish became the unit of school administration and control, supplanting the town, which had previously discharged this function.

The second period continued from 1712, when the parish became the unit of school supervision, to 1798, when the school societies first mentioned in the Legislature of 1795 were clothed with all the powers and privileges and corresponding responsibilities which were held by the parishes from 1712 until 1798. The Congregationalists now constituted the established church by the ratification of the Saybrook Platform in 1708 and were strongly entrenched in the government. During this period the General Court continued to provide for the maintenance of the ministry and to keep an eye upon the churches. Not only was it necessary for each congregation to seek permission of the Court to embody into church estate, but the Court on its own motion frequently intervened in church quarrels and arranged for a meeting of ministers to arbitrate the matter. The civil authority had general oversight in matters spiritual, as well as

temporal. The last general meeting of ministers throughout Connecticut called by the General Court was in 1741, in the time of unrest caused by the "Great Awakening." Religious homogeneity had ceased to exist in Connecticut by the close of the century, and the dissent which sprang up, necessitating varying degrees of toleration, initiated the struggle for religious freedom.

During the eighteenth century an increasing number of Church of England men, Quakers, Baptists, and, in the latter part of the century, Methodists, settled in Connecticut. Such folk could not long remain unrecognized, and they exacted more and more privileges from the General Court by way of exemptions from ecclesiastical taxes for the support of the established church and in gaining permission to levy rates and form churches for the maintenance of worship of their own persuasion. In addition to settlers of other sects, a divisive movement took place in the Congregational churches themselves beginning with the "Great Awakening" of 1740, leading to the formation of numerous "Separate" congregations. Due to the pressure of the non-Congregational elements in the population, legislation was passed in 1784 allowing all religious bodies to regulate their temporal affairs in the same manner as the established churches, a condition being imposed that any member of another church should deposit a certificate of membership signed by an officer of the dissenter's church with the clerk of the established society where the dissenter lived. The same pressure which caused the passage of this and other toleration acts accounts for the omission of the Saybrook Platform as an integral part of the legislation of 1784. In May and October of 1791 the certificate provision was made easier by two enactments, the first requiring a signature by two civil officers, and the second requiring the signature of the dissenter alone, followed by the deposit of the certificate with the clerk of the established church in the parish where the dissenter resided.

By the close of the century the Congregationalists' position was badly shaken with divisions within and by the vigorous growth of the Methodists, Baptists, and Episcopalians. Connecticut had changed from being an almost exclusively Congregational colony to a commonwealth wherein several denominations claimed equal privileges and protested against the union of church and state.

The outstanding enactment affecting religious instruction in the schools at the beginning of the period 1712 and 1798 was the law of 1712, providing that all parishes which were already made, or hereafter should be made by the General Assembly, should be provided with the school funds and should be charged with maintaining schools. This law was the beginning of the change from the town to the parish system. Educational facilities for the Indians were provided by the General Assembly from time to time. The same purposes for educating the youth for a godly life prominent in the first laws upon the subject are expressed in the laws throughout the eighteenth century, an important omission from previous enactments being the provision that parents and masters catechize their children and servants weekly in the grounds and principles of religion, which was dropped in the revision of 1750. Important legislation at the close of the period was enacted in 1795, providing for the sale of the Western Lands and setting aside the proceeds as a perpetual School Fund, a measure which stabilized income for school uses but led in the next thirty years to apathy upon the part of school officers and citizens generally in regard to financing schools over and beyond the dividends from the School Fund. In the same year "school societies" were formed, as the unit of school control, a measure completed by the legislation of 1798. The parish which from 1712 had been the unit of school administration now ceased to occupy that position. There were too many people of other sects whose children must be educated to permit the parish of the established church to be a satisfac-

tory unit of school control. The forces inherent in democracy were at work making for non-sectarian schools and for state control of education.

There gradually came a diminished emphasis upon religion in Connecticut. The conviction of the early pioneers and their solidarity in spiritual matters were no more. Churches during this period, in spite of the "Great Awakening" of 1740 and the occasional revivals which followed, suffered a slow decay of piety. Many unusual circumstances and ideas foreign to the first two generations of Connecticut settlement disturbed the religious life of the day. Chief among these may be said to be the deteriorating influences of frontier life, religious differences within and without the Congregational church, the legacy of debt and low morals which Connecticut inherited in common with the other colonies as a result of the French and Indian Wars, and the formalizing tendencies in the churches arousing discussion of doctrine rather than vital religious preaching and living. As a consequence of the decline of spiritual life in home and church, religious instruction in schools necessarily suffered.

The most important contributions in this eighteenth century to the materials of religious education were the catechisms and *Divine Songs* of Isaac Watts adapted to children's minds and the publication of the *New England Primer*. The children's literature of the period continued to be colored by the theological prepossessions of their elders.

The outstanding event in the early part of the third period, covering the years from 1798 to 1861, was the disestablishment of the Congregational church from its position of power. The growth of infidelity, augmented by the influence of the French Revolution, the rise of other churches and the forces in a democracy which inevitably work against any church having special privileges, united to overthrow the standing order. The disaffected of all persuasions and of none rallied to the support of the Democratic-Republican party, which made a protracted

onslaught upon the union of church and state. The principle of religious liberty so vital to a democracy necessarily brought about the struggle which led to the formation of the new constitution in 1818, a result which sooner or later was certain to be accomplished.

Common schools were necessary in a state in which universal manhood suffrage prevailed and in which the principle of religious freedom was held sacred. The amount and nature of religious instruction in these schools naturally varied with teacher and locality, and cannot be said to have been at any time a consecutive and well-formed body of teaching. It consisted chiefly of brief opening and closing exercises.

The increase in Catholic population brought vexing discussions concerning religious instruction in the schools. Questions soon arose regarding what version of the Scriptures should be used, and whether or not school moneys should be divided between parochial and common schools. The large numbers of Catholics who came in from other states and across the sea, added a second reason for the development of a non-religious type of instruction in the common schools, in order to avoid conflict upon religious differences.

The Protestant churches had taken measures for religious instruction prior to the Sunday school movement. Numerous voluntary organizations were formed in the early decades of the last century for the purpose of distributing tracts, for teaching, and for forwarding various missionary interests, all of which contributed to the life of the church. Revivals were characteristic of the churches throughout the state during all of this period. The chief feature in the history of religious education in these years was the rise and progress of the Sunday school. In this agency the religious forces found a substitute for the religious instruction which had been such a prominent feature of the school and home life during the first one hundred and fifty years of Connecticut settlement. Here at last was an

agency which could be used entirely for the ends of religious training and which could not be antagonized because of sectarian differences, for each church could have its own school. The importance and influence of Sunday schools in the field of religious education cannot be easily overestimated, for in them we have the first adequate attempt to furnish teachers and materials in sufficient quality and quantity to meet the problem of the spiritual and moral culture of the young.

In the late forties, Horace Bushnell set forth the doctrine of Christian nurture. This conception of religious education had a profound effect not only in Connecticut but in religious circles throughout the country. Revivals had "burned over the ground" year after year. Pastor and parents relied upon these seasons of special grace to bring their children to a godly mode of life, and religious instruction was desultory and casual. Bushnell sought to dignify the religious training of children, and taught that the child was to be raised in a spiritual atmosphere and was to grow gradually into a Christian character. Bushnell's conception of the religious education of the young opened an opportunity to give children consistent and permanent instruction adapted to their ages. Before his time there had existed only the spasmodic and fugitive attempts of a church which looked upon revivals as the chief means of recruiting for Protestant Christianity.

The middle of the last century coincides not only with the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861, an event which perforce caused a hiatus in the organized work of religious education because so many leaders were called to the colors, but also with several other important events in Connecticut history. First, a non-sectarian common school system, training for citizenship rather than for religious ends, had developed. Due to the leadership of James Hillhouse, Henry Barnard, Seth P. Beers, Horace Bushnell, and other friends of popular education, the common school occupied a position of importance, with the towns again

in control after 1856. Second, the parochial school system of the Catholics had grown rapidly, and by 1861 they had voluntarily taken the responsibility of educating the children of the Catholic population. Third, Sunday schools had become more firmly established after the labors of Trumbull and the state conventions beginning in 1857, and were able to assume in an adequate manner the task of spiritual and moral instruction of Protestant children. Sunday schools were to be the substitute for religious instruction formerly given in common schools. Fourth, the doctrine of Christian nurture, as proclaimed by Horace Bushnell and his followers, marked the change from the revivalistic theory of religious instruction to the modern type, wherein the emphasis is placed upon having the child grow into the fullness of Christian character.

The Puritan ideal had passed from the common schools and common life of Connecticut, and it remained for parents, Sunday schools, parochial schools, and churches to assume the burden of the religious training of the young.

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